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ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CANUSIUM IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

by

BRENT C. ROE

©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

ANCIENT HISTORY

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1992

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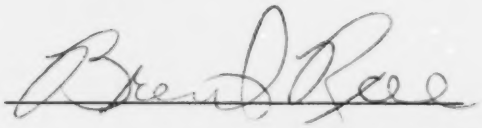

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To Dr. Alastair Small

ABSTRACT

Canusium was an important Daunian centre whose rich tombs have guaranteed a strong modern interest in that culture. Research into the social and economic history of Roman Canusium, however, is a much more recent phenomenon. This thesis critically summarizes some of the results of the research that pertains to the period from the first involvement of Rome in Apulian affairs in the late fourth century B.C. to the acquisition of colonial status by Canusium in the second century A.D. Throughout this period, the Canusines were able to preserve their prosperity by changing their agricultural and industrial activities in response to changes in Italian and Mediterranean conditions. As well, it is argued that although Italian politico-military circumstances demanded the occasional reconstitution of the forms of Canusine government, a robust aristocracy continued to direct local affairs without any clear interruption throughout this half-millenium. The first chapter discusses formation of of Canusium, its involvement with Tarentines, Samnites and Romans, and its consequent entry into the Roman federation. The most important local product in this period was likely grain, and the wealth gained in trade is obvious in the continuing tradition of rich hypogea and in the elaborate and iconographically suggestive temple outside the city. The second chapter argues that Canusium did not fall into decline after the Hannibalic war (218-201 B.C.), but began to engage in profitable wine production and trade. The third chapter argues that economic difficulties were not the main reason for Canusine involvement in the Social War (90-89 B.C.). After the war, Canusium became a Roman *municipium*, and this inspired urban development and allowed local aristocrats even to participate in Roman government. As well, from the Augustan period, wool-processing became a major local industry. The fourth chapter debates the reconstitution of Canusium as a colony and the role of Herodes Atticus, arguing that economic difficulty was not the main reason for it. This period was also one of urban development, and some of this construction is described. Finally, in an appendix, the structure of the Canusine aristocracy is examined through the *album decurionum* of A.D. 223.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AnnBari	*Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università di Bari.*
ArchStorPugl	*Archivio storico pugliese*
Atti Taranto	*Atti del convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia.*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
ERC	*Le Epigrafi romane di Canosa.*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
MEFRA	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome.*
RE	*Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*

Abbreviations of names of classical works are as found in the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

INTRODUCTION

Canusium,[1] or, as it is now called, Canosa, is a city of northern Apulia situated on a hill about 2 km from the south bank of the Ofanto river and about 24 km from its mouth on the Adriatic sea. It lies on the northern end of the Murge plateau, and to its north, it overlooks the large flat plain called the Tavoliere. West of the city, the foothills of the Apennines begin to rise gradually into the distance. Settlement at Canusium has a long history,[2] and the city had become a prominent Daunian centre by the time the Romans made their presence felt in Apulia late in the fourth century B.C. Although Canusium does not figure largely in the ancient sources, for much of the Roman and early medieval periods Canusium was the most important city in northern Apulia.

Perhaps precisely because Canusium was the setting for so few of the dramatic events in Roman history it has not received its due attention from historians of Rome until very recently. Its history might have been

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[1]The name of the city is of Messapic origin and its meaning remains unknown (Parlangeli 1970, pp. 145-146; Jacobone 1925, pp. 11-12). By the Roman period, however, it was believed that the city's name derived from the legend that Diomedes, a hero of the Trojan War who had supposedly settled in the area, used to run his hunting dogs there. Servius (*Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11.246) wrote "*Item Canusium Cynegeticon, quod in eo loco [Diomedes] venari solitus erat.*"

[2]The earliest clear indication of habitation of the site of modern Canosa is a group of cinerary urns that were buried to the northwest of the Canusine hill in an area called the Pozzillo. These burials date to 1400-1200 B.C. in the later Bronze Age (Lo Porto 1970, pp. 248-250).

neglected entirely, however, if its tombs had not been yielding for antiquarian art collectors and foreign museums a rich harvest of painted vases and other pretty artifacts. In the course of the last two centuries, these finds have been slowly provoking an admiring curiosity about the ancient culture that must have produced them, and, not surprisingly, when historians have written about Canusium they have generally been most interested in Canusium as a Daunian city. Only in the last couple of decades has a more solid interest in Roman Canusium developed, and this has been strongly encouraged by the recent application of modern archaeological techniques in the area.

Traditionally historians have had a rather pessimistic view of the economic and social developments in southern Italy in the Roman period. Recent research, however, both elsewhere in this region and around Canusium is leading to new conclusions that suggest a happier continuity in various aspects of economy and society with the more apparently prosperous pre-Roman conditions (as suggested by the rich material recovered from tombs).[3] Canusium especially seems to have retained its economic prosperity and the vigour of its aristocracy even through the ravages of several wars, the repeated necessity of changing principal

---

[3]This research has often been inspired by the findings (sometimes somewhat overstated) of Kahrstedt (1960) who argued that the towns of Magna Graecia continued to be prosperous in the Imperial period although it had traditionally been supposed otherwise. The conclusions of this thesis fit well within the spirit of this scholarly "tradition."

Incidentally, the definition of Magna Graecia adopted in this thesis is rather narrower than usual: here, Magna Graecia denotes only the towns in Italy where the Greek language was spoken as a first language by a majority of the citizens, and this would include primarily those towns founded by Greeks from the Aegean basin. Thus, Canusium, according to the present definition would not be a town of Magna Graecia. It has been erroneously stated in some older publications, and more recently repeated in some poorer ones that Canusium was a "Greek" town.

industries, and the occasional reconstitution of its legal status and governmental structures.

This thesis represents an attempt to summarize and, where it seemed warranted, to criticize some of the published results of the recent interest in Roman Canusium. Although much is being learned of the social and economic history of this area in the Roman period, a continuous and coherent account of the many important developments that took place is far from being achieved. It is partly for this reason that the thesis claims to consider only aspects of that history. As well, given the fact that the great majority of research on this topic has been carried out by European--principally Italian--scholars, it has not been possible to obtain many articles and monographs that would have contributed to the completeness of the present discussion. Nevertheless, even within the bounds imposed by the limited availability of resources, it has been possible to explore critically a number of topics in the history of this city, sketching out major economic and social transformations, and considering these, when possible, together with their political and military concomitants.

The chronological limits to the present study have been chosen more voluntarily. The half-millennium between the later fourth century B.C. and the later second century A.D., the period under examination, is the period of the romanization of Canusium and of its growth into one of the most important cities in southern Italy in the Imperial period. The Romans first involved themselves in Apulian affairs in the course of the Second Samnite War of the late fourth century, and Canusium became a part of the Roman world in these circumstances. Then, just as the Roman Empire

achieved its greatest level of stability and prosperity during the second century A.D., so Canusium, taking its part in this, also enjoyed a time of especially great affluence that gave impetus to the construction of monuments and the transformation of institutions. From the later second century A.D., Canusium entered a period of stability that would seem to have lasted into the later Imperial period. Thus, except for a detailed examination of the *Album Decurionum* of the early third century A.D. that illustrates the composition of the ruling class as it took shape during the second century (presented in the Appendix), the present paper ends with a consideration of the developments of the second century A.D.

This half-millennium of Canusine history can be divided into several periods that the four chapters composing the body of this paper attempt to reflect. The first chapter opens with a brief description of the formation of the town of Canusium as one among several larger Daunian centres that were forming in the fourth century B.C. in northern Apulia. This is followed by an account of the circumstances in which Canusium became a *socius* of Rome. The chapter continues with a consideration of Canusine culture as it was at the time of the alliance with Rome and as it prevailed until the time of the Hannibalic War. Such topics as language, governing class, economy, and burial practices are discussed. Finally the large temple that stood outside of the town, perhaps the very symbol of the entrance of Canusium into the Roman world, is described in some detail.

The second chapter begins with an account of the Canusine role in the Hannibalic War and why it would not seem to have suffered from the Roman reprisals in Apulia after the war. It is argued instead that by the

mid second century B.C., Canusium, far from being abandoned to the sheep of a Roman aristocrat, was producing wine and exporting it into the lands of the Aegean basin, and that this commodity may have been shipped from a port at ancient Barletta.

The third chapter consists of a critique of the interesting but ultimately unsatisfactory analysis of Canusine involvement in the Social War by F. Grelle. Next, the institutional changes effected at Canusium after the war are considered in terms of the structure of the municipal government, the consolidation of the *ager Canusinus*, and the assignment to the *Tribus Oufentina*. Evidence of the accelerated integration of Canusium into the Roman state is looked at in terms of the construction impetus of the Augustan period, the Roman roads that were extended through northern Apulia in this period (and later), and the notable municipal-period Canusine families whose members sometimes even joined the Roman Senate. Finally, an examination is made of the evidence for wool and textile production and the transhumant pastoralism that this depended upon, activities that would seem to have developed during Canusium's municipal period.

The fourth and last chapter concerns the reconstitution of Canusium as a Roman Colony. The role of Herodes Atticus, the famous orator, in this process is considered, and this entails a discussion of the date of the *deductio* and the possible economic connection of Canusium and the town of Oricum in Epirus. F. Grelle offered a somewhat pessimistic explanation of the circumstances that resulted in the grant of colonial status, and his explanation is criticized. Finally, an account is given of a second construction impetus at Canusium that may well have been concomitant with

the colonization process. Also, as mentioned above, the Appendix contains an analysis of the content of the Canusine *album decurionum* of A.D. 223, an inscription that offers a fascinating glimpse of the local colonial-period governing class.

The only general discussion of Canusine history that has appeared is a 1925 monograph by N. Jacobone, an amateur historian at Canosa. While this work contains useful information on local monuments and inscriptions, the thoughts and discoveries of the sixty-five years following its publication have demanded a new synthesis, and the present paper might serve to highlight the lines along which a larger and more detailed work on the Roman period might proceed. The same comments might have been made by F. Grelle with the 1981 publication of his long article on the economy and society of Roman Canusium, but there is reason to disagree with a number of his conclusions. In the last decade, and especially in the last five years, a number of more ambitious works have appeared that contribute to an understanding of various aspects of Canusine history, and material has been drawn from these for the present discussion.[4] Foremost among these are the general treatment of Daunia (essentially northern Apulia) edited by M. Mazzei in 1984 and that published by G. Volpe in 1990, and the corpus of the Latin inscriptions of Canusium edited by M. Chelotti, R. Gaeta, V. Morizio, and M. Silvestrini in 1985 and by M. Chelotti, V. Morizio, and M. Silvestrini in 1990.

In the spring of 1992, there was a major exposition of archaeological material from Canosa at Bari, Italy. Unfortunately, the

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[4]As well, a basic bibliographic introduction to Canusine studies and the ancient references to Canusium has been prepared by Paoletti (1985).

constraints of duty and the limits of resources did not allow the present author to view this material firsthand, and the excellent catalogue edited by R. Cassano did not become available in Canada until this paper was essentially finished. The catalogue, well illustrated and continuing for almost a thousand pages, brings together between two covers the material in many of the individual works cited in the present one and others that could not be obtain for use in this paper. For the most part, the conclusions on the various aspect of Canusine social and economic history that are reached by the authors of the catalogue are similar to the conclusions expressed in their earlier publications, and my agreement or disagreement with those conclusions as already expressed in this thesis remains essentially unaltered.

CHAPTER ONE

CANUSIUM FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY TO THE HANNIBALIC WAR

Canusium as a Daunian Settlement

The Iron Age Daunian centres. The Daunians, Peucetians, and, in the Salentine peninsula, the Messapians were all peoples descended from Illyrian folk who had migrated across the Adriatic in the neolithic period, settled in Apulia and probably mixed with the Sub-apenninic peoples who had been in the area much longer.[5] The northern portion of the modern region of Apulia, especially the Tavoliere, became the homeland of the Daunians,[6] and their culture is encountered archaeologically from the

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[5]Adamesteanu 1979, p.193; De Juliis 1988b, pp. 594-595.

[6]The Roman historical sources do not differentiate between the Daunians and the Peucetians, but refer to these peoples only as *Apuli*, and to their land as Apulia. This is probably because after the Samnite Wars, the area was administratively designated Apulia and the various ethnic groups had little significance for the Romans government. The Roman geographers, however, following their Greek sources, do mention the *Dauni* (e.g. Mela 2.65 and Pliny N.H. 3.11.104). As for the Greek writers, Polybius (e.g. 3.88.3-4) clearly distinguishes between Peucetians and Daunians, calling Iapygia what the Romans would call Apulia. Strabo (6.3.1,8,11), however, writing in the Augustan period, speaks of the differentiation of these groups within Apulia as an historical curiosity of no contemporary importance even for the Apulians themselves. Speaking of the ethnic groups, he does say that Ἰαπυγία, called Messapia by the Greeks, is inhabited by the *Salentini* and *Calabri*, and that north of the *Calabri* live the Peucetians and Daunians whose land is Ἀπουλία. He also speaks of the *Apuli* as a group distinct from and living to the north of the Daunians, but who do not differ from the Daunians in language or way of life. See also Grilli 1984, pp. 83-92.

valley of the Fortore river in the north to the valley of the Ofanto river to the south.[7]

The Daunian population traditionally lived in small scattered villages from which the people went out to tend their fields.[8] There were, however, several more important centres, such as Arpi, Teanum Apulum, and perhaps Canusium, that were characterized by a vast area surrounded by an defensive rampart. There was much open space within the perimeter of defence (when this existed), probably to allow the rural population to seek refuge there, together with its herds, in time of war. Most of the time, the open space would have been used for crops, pasture, and the burials of the centre's inhabitants.[9] The perimeter of the *agger* (wall or, more precisely, earthwork) of Arpi was 13 km, and that of Teanum Apulum was 11 km.[10] Although as yet archaeology has not delineated the size of the defended area of Canusium,[11] Strabo (6.3.9) mentions a very extensive

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[7]Adamesteanu 1980, p. 53. The ancient sources differ widely in their conception of the limits of the Daunian territory. Pliny (3.103-104) considered the Ofanto as the southern border, although he counted Canusium among the Daunian cities. Strabo (6.3.8), however, extended Daunia as far south as Bari. Polybius (3.88) is not very clear, saying only that Daunia is the northern part of Ἰαπυγία. As for a western boundary, Horace (*Sat.* 2.1.34-35) was uncertain whether the *coloni* at Venusia ploughed Lucanian or Apulian land: presumably Apulian culture was considered to have extended about as far west as Venusia. This far north, that Apulian culture would have been that of the Daunians.

[8]Volpe 1990, p. 27.

[9]De Juliis 1975a, pp. 287-288.

[10]The remaining traces of the ramparts have been observed in aerial photographs. See Bradford 1957, p. 167, and De Juliis 1975a, p. 287.

[11]Adamesteanu (1980, p. 54) says that the fortification of Canusium consisted of concentric circles. The archaeological evidence on which he bases this comment is not clear. Mayer (1898, p. 197) estimated that the wall circuit of Canusium may have been about 28 km long since most

wall there.[12] By the second half of the fourth century, these and other Daunian centres, having become increasingly hellenized, had begun to undergo a process of urbanization: some villages were abandoned and well-defensible points became the foci of walled cities of more restricted extent.[13]

The Toppicelli site. Canusium was a good candidate for development as a city: it was situated close to the main river of Apulia and it had a hill that could serve well for observation of the land around and that could serve as a refuge in time of attack. In the 1970s, a site known as Toppicelli, which is situated about 1 km from Canosa towards the river, was excavated, and through this site we can roughly trace the urbanization process of Canusium.[14] At Toppicelli were found sixth century remains of some dwellings, *fossa* tombs containing Attic pottery, and a *sacellum*, a small temple constructed using dressed stone and a Greek-style polychrome terracotta revetment. There was development in this area in the fifth and fourth centuries as well, but the village was abandoned in the later fourth century and the area used for burial. This settlement would seem

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of the tombs could have been inside of only such a perimeter. This figure seems rather too large: it is unlikely that burials are to be found only inside the walls. De Juliis (1975b, p. 66) alludes to archaeological finds confirming this, but again, he does not state his source.

[12]This wall, however, may not have been the pre-Roman *agger*, but a later wall, still of a perimeter large enough to have seemed too large for a prosperous town in relation to the occupied (built up) area within it to the eyes of Strabo's source, a Greek accustomed to the cramped conditions of Greek cities.

[13]De Juliis 1988, pp. 618-119. See also Small, s.d., pp. 8-12; Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 201; and Pani 1979b, p. 99.

[14]Lo Porto 1972, p. 493, and 1976, pp. 639-640.

to have been abandoned in favour of the security offered by the denser urban centre that was being formed around the hill at Canusium.[15]

The early Canusine town layout. At Canusium, there are few easily recognizable remains from its pre-municipal period that would indicate the layout of the town. It is not known for certain whether Canusium had a city wall already in the later fourth century B.C., but it is clear that there was a wall by the time of the Hannibalic War (Livy 22.52-54 and 27.12) that even remained in place at the time of the Social War when Canusium was besieged (Appian, *BC* 1.52).[16] Graves -- even large chamber tombs (see below) -- are scattered about the modern town, which is positioned on the site of the ancient city.[17] This scattering of tombs was not entirely random, however, since there seem to be rough groupings of burials in various quarters, and many of the tombs are located along two main roads that even in the Roman period passed through the city.[18] Probably, the steep hill up the eastern side of which the modern town is clustered and on which are still to be found the towers of a medieval castle, served as an acropolis with religious or defensive purposes, but there is no positive evidence for this. Finally, on a site that must have

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[15]De Juliis 1990a, p. 70.

[16] Jacobone (1925, p. 110) says that no trace of the ancient wall remains visible, but that large tufa blocks have been excavated in several places about the town that were part of the wall at some point, although even these were not to be seen at the time he was writing (p. 115). If stone blocks were used in this wall, one might wonder if some of those incorporated into the medieval castle on the hill might not have originated in the ancient Canusine city wall.

[17]Mayer 1898, p. 197.

[18]Lamboley 1982, p. 101-104.

been outside of the urban centre, there was an elaborate sanctuary and temple (described at the end of this chapter).

Greeks, Samnites, and Romans in Daunia

Tarentine involvement in Daunia. There would seem to have been a need for security offered by a more compact urban plan in the later fourth century inasmuch as the Daunians had to confront Greeks, Samnites, and Romans. Although Tarentum had long extended a strong cultural influence on all of Apulia, the Daunian cities had not been threatened militarily by these Italiote Greeks mainly because the Lucanians and Messapians closer to Tarentum had been challenge enough for the Tarentines and their foreign *condottieri*. In one moment of extreme danger, however, the Tarentines obtained the assistance of Alexander of Molossia who arrived in 334/333 B.C. with a large force of his own (Aristotle, frag. 614). He quickly brought the Messapians to an agreement (Justin *Epit.* 12.2.6), but then continued as far north as Sipontum and Arpi (Livy 8.24.4), forming an alliance with the Peucetians and gaining the submission of the Daunians. He then fought hard for Tarentum against the Lucanians and Bruttians (Livy 8.24; Just. *Epit.* 12.2), but when, by his conquests further afield, it became evident that he was building an empire for himself, Tarentum revoked all support for him and he was soon killed in battle against the Bruttians (Livy 8.24.4-15; Justin *Epit.* 12.2.13-15). Although Tarentum continued to have pretensions of hegemony over Daunia at the outbreak of the Second Samnite War, as its offer of mediation between Romans and Samnites (Livy 9.14) would indicate, in reality it was little able to

devote military attention that far afield, and interference in Daunian affairs came from other quarters.

The Samnite War and Canusium as *socius*. In this period, the Samnites were extending their influence eastward from the Apennines, across the Tavoliere toward the Adriatic coast. Rome sought to check Samnite influence in the region by pushing them back to their Apennine homeland and gaining control of the coast. Livy (8.25.3; 8.27.2) says that the *Apuli* sought out an alliance with Rome (in 327 or 326), but these probably included only the Arpani since they were clearly always on the Roman side in Livy's account. That Canusium and other Daunian cities also joined in an alliance with the Romans in the late fourth century is certain, but the circumstances that brought this about are not very clear.

Livy (9.37.4-5; 9.20.4) goes on to say that there were *Apuli* supporting the Samnites and that Canusium was among the cities in this position, making terms with the Romans and giving hostages in 318/317 only out of exhaustion.[19] Diodorus (19.10.2) also reports that Canusine hostages were taken by the Romans. With our rather imperfect information on this episode, it remains difficult to account for Canusine behaviour. If the

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[19] It has been argued that the little-hellenized rural folk perhaps favoured the Samnite cause because they hoped for social change as the Samnites were more egalitarian in social structure (D'Andria 1979, p. 273); and that while the urban governing class, which was highly hellenized through its contact with the Greeks of Magna Graecia, welcomed the protection of Rome (Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 185), Canusium may nonetheless have been under Samnite influence in this period (Pani 1979a, p. 84), the local aristocracy perhaps suffering some temporary political setback that allowed a pro-Samnite, possibly popular faction to predominate. This almost Marxist interpretation seems somewhat forced, however, as simple Iron Age farmers are unlikely to have appreciated the sociological differences between the two societies. Indeed, Samnite society itself was hardly classless (Salmon 1967, p. 52).

Canusines had been free to do as they liked in the affair, one might perhaps expect that leaders there would have calculated that it would be better to form an alliance with Rome, which, at least in peace-time, would be unlikely to interfere in local affairs, than to submit to the Samnites whose ambitions were much more immediately threatening.[20]

It is possible that indeed they had little choice inasmuch as the Samnites may have had some form of control in the area. A possible Samnite presence in the mid fourth century has been noted at nearby Lavello, the probable location of ancient Forentum, in that a pair of tombs has been excavated in which the bodies were deposited in the supine position proper to the Italic culture, rather than in the flexed position typical of Daunian burials.[21] Certainly this in itself is not decisive evidence of Samnite influence, but interestingly Diodorus (19.65.7) reports that when the Romans captured Forentum (Φερέντην), they were fighting Samnites, who must have gained control of the centre, at least very temporarily. It is possible that the Samnites were exerting a strong influence even as far into Daunia as Canusium, but this, if it occurred, has not left any traces that have so far been discovered.[22]

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[20]Salmon 1967, pp. 232-233.

[21]Bottini 1985, pp. 59-68; Bottini and Tagliente 1986, pp. 67-70.

[22] In the past, evidence of this has been thought to be some of the Canusine tomb paintings. For example, the painting on the third-century "Sant'Aloia" hypogeum in which is represented a pair of women following a warrior on a horse was thought by Tiné Bertocchi (1964, p. 17, fig. 2; 18) to be similar in style and content to the "return of the warrior" scene from the Paestum tomb . She wrote her comments, however, before the discovery of the "Cerberus" tomb in which similar elements occur, but as part of what is most likely a *deductio ad inferos* scene (this is described in more detail below), taking its inspiration much more from the Greek world than from the Italic.

Whether by war or diplomacy, the Daunian cities did become allies of Rome, that is, they conceded to Rome their foreign policy and contingents of soldiers, but retained their own forms of government.[23] The Roman control of Daunia, however, was not so strong at the beginning of the third century that all cities refrained from siding with the Samnites in battle at Maleventum/Beneventum in 297, although it is not clear whether or not Canusium was among the rebellious towns.[24] In 291, Rome established the large Latin colony of Venusia to help control the area. Perhaps because of this nearby colony, Canusine loyalty to Rome would not seem to have lapsed during the Pyrrhic war, nor specifically in the battle of Ausculum of 279.[25]

The Languages of Canusium

The Daunians, like the Peucetians and Messapians, spoke Messapic, a language of Illyrian derivation, but the Daunian version of the language reveals clear Oscan influences, as can be judged by the fourth and third century inscriptions found in Daunia.[26] Although some people, such as those involved in commerce, would surely have also known Greek inasmuch as it was the lingua franca of Mediterranean trade and, of course, the language of the Italiote communities, Messapic was probably never

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[23]Pani 1979a, p. 86.

[24]Pani 1979a, p. 87.

[25]Ciaceri 1932, v. III, p. 55; Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 185. We have little information, however, and this is admittedly an inference from silence. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (20.3.2) and Zonaras (8.5) fail to list any Apulians fighting in the Pyrrhic War with the exception of the Arpani.

[26]Santoro 1988, pp. 127-128, 142-144.

supplanted by Greek in Daunia because this area was, by ancient standards, far from the nearest concentration of Greek speakers (Tarentum). Although Greek influences at Canusium in the late fourth and third centuries are clear in such remains as the coins, and the architectural decoration of temple and tomb, no Greek inscriptions are known from here.[27]

The Latin language was spoken in northern Apulia by the Latin colonists at Luceria (from 314) and by those at Venusia (from 291).[28] At Canusium, it is probable that Latin was spoken by persons who had regular business with the colonists, especially with those of Venusia since this colony was very large[29] and the Venusian territory was contiguous with that of Canusium.[30] Nevertheless, no Latin inscriptions have been attested from Canusium that are older than the first century B.C.[31]

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[27]The one exception would be an inscription, *ERC* 282, from well into the Imperial period and composed by a foreigner.

[28]Salmon 1982, p. 65.

[29]According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (17-18.5) 20,000 colonists were settled there. This number is generally considered greatly exaggerated. Torelli (1984, pp. 333-334) discusses the problem in detail.

[30]Santoro 1988, p. 145. It is less likely that Latin became important at Canusium as a direct result of its alliance with Rome since although Canusine soldiers would have assisted in Roman war efforts, they would have served in their own *cohortes* (although under a Roman *praefectus*) (Cary & Scullard 1975, p. 100).

[31]Horace (*Sat.* 1.10.30) mentions a (proverbial) bilingual Canusine who mixes his languages. The context does not allow a firm decision on what the languages the Augustan-period Canusine would have been. Presumably, one of the languages was Latin, but the other could have been Messapic or Greek.

The Governing Class

We know little about the type of government that Canusium may have had at the time of its alliance with Rome. Aside from many single-chamber tombs, about a dozen multi-chambered hypogea[32] have been discovered in and around modern Canosa. These were probably the burial sites of the Canusine aristocracy of the late fourth and third centuries B.C., and because there are only a small number of them, it might be supposed that the wealth they represent was concentrated in only a few families, and this would suggest an oligarchic system of government.[33] Such an assertion, however, cannot be made unequivocally: it is difficult to know which tombs were being used at the same time as others; new tomb groups are still being discovered (so a "final count" of large tombs is not possible); and it is not clear how closely family wealth and hypogeal complexity were correlated with family power. It would seem, in any case, that if the Canusines buried in the richer tombs were the leaders of the community in their day, the Canusine élite of the fourth and third centuries were likely a mounted warrior class, to judge by the contents of a number of tombs (described below) that contained bronze armour and weaponry, and items pertinent to horsemanship. The literary evidence would suggest that the community leaders were at least wealthy.[34]

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[32]A hypogeum (plural, hypogea) is an ancient underground burial chamber or a group of such chambers that are linked together by an adjoining passage.

[33]Volpe 1990, p. 32.

[34]There are examples of individuals from some of the Daunian centres who may well have been of the aristocracies. During the Hannibalic War, at Salapia there were Dasius and Blattius (Livy 24.38), and at Arpi there was Dasius Altinius who had property that the Romans considered confiscating (Livy 24.45). Busa of Canusium was described as

It may be, as well, that some of these families survived as community leaders for many generations into the Roman period. In an Augustan period sepulchral inscription one Busidius, who was a centurion *primipilus*, is encountered.[35] The root of his name is likely Messapic and related to the names Busa and Buzos, both wealthy individuals from the third century B.C.[36] As well, the Dazos who was wealthy enough to dedicate a votive altar at the shrine of Asclepius at Epidaurus, also in the third century B.C., may have been an earlier relative of the Dasimii who were *quattuorviri* in the Imperial period.[37]

Trade and the Canusine Aristocracy

Economic integration into the Hellenistic world. That these people were integrated into the economic network of the Hellenistic world is proven by the cosmopolitan quality of the design and decoration of the San Leucio temple (described below): they would have had to remunerate with portable and negotiable wealth the probably non-local architects and artists that planned and oversaw this work. Other items of importation, such as the Attic, Metapontine, or Tarentine pottery, the Tarentine gold-work, or the Alexandrian glassware, also must have been paid for whether in coin or in kind, and this again implies a trading relationship with

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"*genere clara ac divitiis*" and could have been a relative of the Canusine Βοῦζος (Buzos) whose presence was recorded at Delos (*ERC* App. I.1).

[35]*ERC* 28.

[36]Busa is mentioned by Livy (22.52), and Buzos was a proxenos at Delos and enjoyed many privileges there in the mid third century B.C. (*ERC* App. I,1). See Silvestrini 1990, pp. 259-261.

[37]*ERC* App. I,3; 40, 41. See Silvestrini 1990, pp. 259-261.

other communities whether in southern Italy or elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. The sources of wealth for the Canusine élite at the time of the alliance with Rome are not known with certainty. Several possible sources, however, might be grain, horses, and pottery.[38]

Trade in grain. There are several reasons to suppose that grain grown on the Tavoliere might have provided Canusium with a source of wealth. Polybius (3.107.1-4), in his account of the Hannibalic War, describes the "Roman" practice of storing at Cannae grain and other provisions from the area of Canusium. From here the Romans would transport the grain to their military camp as needed. This passage could be construed as describing a long-standing local practice that was exploited by the Romans while the Carthaginians were in Apulia, and if so, it would be an indication that substantial amounts of surplus grain was stored at Cannae for eventual exportation. Livy (22.52.7) describes the munificence of Busa, a wealthy Canusine woman who gave grain, clothing, and money to the 4200 Roman soldiers who had escaped from the battlefield at Cannae.[39] That she was able to feed so many men from what would seem

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[38]Another possibility that comes to mind, but on only the slightest evidence, would be that Canusine aristocrats sold their services to other powers as mercenary soldiers at least until the later fourth century when they became allies of Rome. In their struggles with their Lucanian neighbours, the Tarentines gained the cooperation of the βασιλεῖς of the Daunians and that of the Peucetians (Strabo 6.3.4), who may simply have been Apulian aristocrats who could contribute men and horses for suitable remuneration. In the fifth century, Messapian javelin throwers were hired by Athens in the course of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 7.33.3-4; 7.57.11). Griffith (1968, *passim*) notes that there were Italians in Greek armies in the Hellenistic period, but in general, those who were mercenary soldiers were poor men seeking employment on their own behalf (Isocrates 4.167).

[39]Valerius Maximus (4.8.2) says that Busa helped 10,000 Romans, but this figure seems rather exaggerated.

to have been her own resources, might be an indication that this grain was a surplus destined for trade.[40] Presumably such surpluses would have been at least as ample during peacetime. Strabo (6.3.9) mentions that grain, among other commodities, was exported from Sipontum at the north end of the Tavoliere. His source, however, was probably Artemidorus,[41] who would have seen this area at the end of the second century B.C., so that his statement may not apply well to the situation one and two centuries before.

Very much earlier, during the fifth century B.C., Athens is known to have purchased grain from several areas of Italy, including Apulia,[42] but whether the Canusine area contributed to this supply cannot be determined. As the financial means of Athens decreased from the end of that century, however, Apulian grain producers would have had to find a different market, ideally a city with a large urban population, but limited arable land in its *chora*. We have no literary evidence of markets for Apulian grain in this later period, but the distribution pattern of Canusine pottery may give some indication of the destination of exports of greater economic importance such as grain.

Canusine pottery. Canusine Geometric pottery dating to the fourth century has been found on the east side of the Adriatic,[43] so clearly some

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[40]The Battle of Cannae took place in August, at a time shortly after the harvest, if this occurred mid-summer as it does today. Thus, if surplus grain were normally traded, most of it would have still been on hand at the time of the battle.

[41]Biffi 1988, pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII. Laserre 1967, pp. 14-18.

[42]Lepore 1988, pp. 491-492, 494-495, 500-501.

[43]Batović 1975, pp. 343-345.

trade was occurring with the Dalmatian coast in this period. Metals, chiefly iron, and Baltic amber were perhaps the main articles of import.[44] This trans-Adriatic trade with the Dalmatian coast seems to have been greatly reduced in volume by the fourth century because the Liburnian dominance of the Adriatic was disturbed by Greek traders dealing with the Etruscans at Spina.[45] Canusine pottery has also been found in various parts of Italy: Picenum, Etruria, Campania,[46] but the commodities that were imported in exchange remain unknown.[47]

Horse breeding. Horses may have been a source of wealth for the Canusine elite.[48] Certainly, they were used and probably represented high status inasmuch as they are depicted in most of the figural tomb paintings that have survived,[49] and horse bits have been found in a number of such well-appointed tombs.[50] Horses are also depicted in Canusine figured pottery and the fore-quarters of horses were attached to some of the "plastic" *askoi*. We have literary evidence that horses were raised in

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[44]De Juliis 1975b, p. 75.

[45]De Juliis 1975b, p. 75.

[46]De Juliis 1975b, p. 65.

[47]Pottery was also being imported in the fourth and third centuries from Magna Graecia, especially from Tarentum. One might speculate, though the evidence allows little more, that the Canusines were importing bronze from Etruria, and perhaps manufactured goods, such as tools, from Campania.

[48]Volpe 1990, p. 30.

[49]The most important of these are in the "Sant'Aloia," "Hoplite," and "Cerberus" hypogea.

[50]For example in the "Lenoci" hypogeum (De Juliis 1981, pp. 458-459).

Daunia, at least in its north. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (20.3.2) reported that Arpi contributed 200 mounted warriors to the Roman line at Ausculum in 279 B.C., and Strabo (6.3.9), whose source was probably Posidonius, who lived in the late second century B.C., reported that the Garganus Promontory was excellent for horses.

Mediterranean trade. As mentioned, there have been objects found in tombs that originated in Alexandria, whether glass-ware[51] or faïence pottery.[52] Some of this material arrived in Canusium by way of Tarentum,[53] but some probably also came to Canusium directly from Macedonia, Epirus, and even Alexandria since some of the third-century hypogeal decoration is similar to such decoration in those places, but there are fewer similarities to that of Tarentum.[54] If Canusines themselves were engaged in Mediterranean trade, Delos was perhaps an entrepôt for some of this (Delos is further discussed below). There is, in fact, an inscription from Delos datable to 241-232 conferring honours upon Β[illegible]ος a Canusine.[55]

The presence in third-century Canusine tombs of items of importation, especially of Alexandrian glass bowls,[56] has been used to argue that in the third century, Canusium to some extent had come to usurp

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[51]Harden 1968.

[52]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, pp. 222-226.

[53]Mayer 1898, p.215.

[54]Lamboley 1982, pp. 116, 140; Lippolis 1987; and Fedak 1990, pp. 113-115.

[55]ERC App.I,1 = IG X,4,642.

[56]See Harden 1968, pp. 31-46; Oliver 1968a, pp. 20-21, and 1968b, pp. 54-68; Oliver 1969, pp. 12-16; Ciancio 1980 (non vidi), and Lippolis 1984b, pp. 450-452.

the commercial importance of Tarentum, which had been conquered and economically marginalized by Rome.[57] While it is clear from the grave goods that the Canusines did develop commercial links with other centres, and the Romans may well have been marginalizing Tarentum, it is equally clear that Tarentum was still an important commercial centre almost throughout the third century. The evidence of this lies in the rich grave goods found in Tarentum and the presence of Tarentine goods of the third century found in other centres.[58] Livy (27.16.8), in telling about the large quantity of silver, gold,[59] and works of art taken as booty by the Romans in 209 B.C., indicates that Tarentum was still very wealthy by the time of the Hannibalic War. The third century was a time of great economic development in the eastern Mediterranean world and it is not necessary to suppose that because one Italian centre seems to be benefitting from this, another was necessarily suffering in consequence.

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[57]This would have been an effect of the Roman development of Brundisium, which was organized as a Latin Colony in 244 and became Rome's main eastern-looking port (Moretti 1970, pp. 54-55).

[58]De Juliis 1984, pp. 25-26.

[59]The MS tradition relates that the gold recovered was 83,000 pounds (about 268 kg), but this is rejected by F.G. Moore in his Loeb Classical Library edition of Livy (p. 275). He prefers the amount of *tria milia octoginta* (3,800) pounds of gold, mainly because Livy (26.14.8) reports that 2,070 pounds of gold were taken from Capua. I do not think the absolute amount is very important here: Capua was also a prosperous city in this period and still yielded considerably less gold than Tarentum.

Coinage at Canusium

Locally minted coins. Local bronze and silver coins have been found at the larger Daunian centres including Canusium.[60] In the late fourth or early third century B.C., a silver obol and diobol were produced at Canusium.[61] Probably these were produced only occasionally since they are so rare, and since no stater has been found, these coins were probably struck with small transactions in a restricted area in mind[62] and to supplement Tarentine coinage that would have been the usual coinage.[63] Larger silver and bronze coins without marks of value were labelled as Canusine in Greek characters and in the Greek language (to judge by the morphology of the words) and bore such devices as an amphora between a *cornucopia* and *oenochoe*, a youth's head, and a nude horseman, the latter two devices perhaps representing Diomedes, a hero popular in Daunia.[64] Smaller bronze coins, some of which have marks of value are also labelled in Greek as Canusine and bear such Greek devices as Heracles' head with a lion skin, Hermes' head with a winged helmet, and Zeus' head crowned with laurel. Unfortunately, the coins of Canusium cannot be securely dated since we have no information on the circumstances of their discoveries, but while the bronze coins with marks of value (mainly *sextantes*) are clearly from the Roman period, probably from the later third century[65], the

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[60]Garrucci 1885, p. 114; Head 1911, pp. 44-46; Stazio 1972, p. 39.

[61]Stazio 1972, p. 39; Garrucci 1885, p. 114.

[62]Stazio 1972, pp. 39, 40.

[63]Head 1911, p. 44.

[64]Morea 1968, p. 21.

[65]Head 1911, p. 46.

silver ones and some of the bronze coins without marks of value may be from as early as the fourth century.[66]

The small emissions of local coins in the early Roman period may have been a symbolic assertion of local political autonomy and an expression of the prestige of the cities' governing classes, the Tarentine, and later Roman, coinage being normally used in larger-scale trade (small-scale transactions would probably have been by barter).[67] On the other hand, however, local coinage was perhaps first minted in some towns allied to Rome because there was a need to pay the local troops who fought under Roman command in the Pyrrhic war and thereafter, but as Roman coinage became more established in southern Italy, local currency yielded to Roman.[68] It is possible too that since the allies of Rome during the Pyrrhic war had to pay their own troops (Polybius 6.21.5), they struck their early coins for this purpose.[69]

Roman coinage at Canusium. Roman coins found at Canusium include a *victoriatus* found at the head of a skeleton in one of the tombs (see below),[70] as well as a hoard found in the city in 1911 from the end of the third century showing a prevalence of *victoriati* dating from 211 to 208.[71] The sudden diffusion of *victoriati* in this period may be related to the

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[66]Crawford 1985, p. 14.

[67]Pani 1979b, pp. 102, 104.

[68]Crawford 1985, pp. 36-37.

[69]Crawford 1985, pp. 36-37.

[70]De Juliis 1980, p. 432. The burial containing the coin is *cella* B of a tomb in Via Dante at Canosa excavated on July 24, 1979. A list of the other tomb contents is given by De Juliis (1982, p. 265).

[71]Travaglini 1988, p.68; Crawford 1969, n. 86.

intensified Roman military presence in this area during the Hannibalic War.[72] The *denarius* was not common in Apulia at this time since it did not fit so well with the usual coin sizes used in the area up to the time of the Hannibalic War.[73] Nevertheless, there were some *denarius*-system coins minted in Canusium during the war years that were restruck on bronze coins of the Acarnanian League and Oeniadae, and these are marked with a *CA* device.[74] In the years after the Hannibalic War, the *denarius* became especially common in Apulia. This, however, was probably not, as has been suggested,[75] on account of the Gracchan colonization effort because the colonists were the poorest of Rome. More probably, it was because from 202 B.C., Tarentum was required, as stipulated in its peace treaty with Rome, to desist from minting its own currency, currency that was also the standard in most of Apulia up to this time.[76]

The Canusine Tombs

Burial customs. Much of what we know of Daunian society in the period of its first contacts with the Romans must be inferred from its graves[77]. An Iron Age Daunian burial typically demanded that the body,

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[72]Travaglini 1988, pp. 68-69.

[73]Travaglini 1988, pp. 70-71.

[74]Crawford 1974, v. 1, p. 32.

[75]Travaglini 1988, p. 74.

[76]De Juliis (1984, p. 17) cites Livy (35.16.3) as evidence that Tarentum was forced to cease the minting of its coinage, but this passage does not actually say this. Wuilleumier (1939, pp. 167, 391) says that it was from 209 B.C. that Tarentum stopped producing coinage.

[77]See De Juliis 1975a, pp. 292-295.

lying in a flexed position on its side in a small pit (a *fossa* grave), be accompanied by a few pieces of pottery. These graves were fairly uniform, revealing little differentiation in the wealth and status of their occupants. By the fourth century B.C., however, bodies were often accompanied by a much more extensive array of pottery types and by articles of metal. Burials were also effected in artificial hollows (*grotticella* tombs) dug into the sub-soil layer of soft limestone (the tufa) and entered by way of a *dromos*, and even in multi-chambered highly-crafted chamber tombs. Such hypogea became especially frequent at Canusium from the latter half of the fourth century.[78] Some were given elaborate architectural facades, the features of which show Macedonian and Alexandrian influences.[79] For example, the "Lagrasta II" hypogeum had a bi-level facade, the upper level of which was of the Ionic order, the lower level of the Doric, much like the Great Tomb of Lefkadia in Macedonia, which dates to about 300 B.C.[80] The cruciform arrangement of the

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[78]It is difficult to date these hypogeal complexes with precision by their architectonic features because new chambers were occasionally added and decorative schemes were altered (De Juliis 1988a, p.147). It is also difficult to date the burials with precision by the tomb contents since chambers were occasionally re-used and modern excavators (legitimate or otherwise) have not always recognized this (see Oliver 1968 for a discussion of this problem with respect to the "Scocchera" hypogea). As mentioned, some hypogea date to the fourth century B.C., but most seem to date to the third century. The use of the tombs, at least occasionally, however, continued even into the first century (for a description of the "Lagrasta" hypogeum, see Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, pp. 190-196, and for a description of the graffito dating to 67 B.C., see *ERC* 158).

[79]Lamboley 1982; Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 190.

[80]Lippolis 1987, p. 151; Fedak 1990, pp. 109, 113-114.

chambers and the flat ceilings carved to resemble wooden beams, however, are more reminiscent of the large Etruscan tombs.[81]

Tomb decoration. In some tombs figural painting has been preserved that is highly indicative of the infiltration of Greek philosophical and religious ideas.[82] For example, above one of the chamber openings in the "Cerberus" hypogeum is depicted a *deductio ad inferos* scene in which Cerberus is approached by *Hermes Psychopompos* followed by a draped figure--probably the deceased--and a warrior leading his horse. Two draped women are depicted off to the side and these are probably in the world of the living. The "Sant'Aloia" hypogeum had a similar scene, to judge from the horse and two women that remain recognizable. Both hypogea date to the early third century B.C.

There are also instances of decorative sculpture associated with some tombs.[83] For example, In the "Monterisi Rossignoli" hypogeum are reliefs of what was probably a lion and a wild pig. In the "Hoplite" hypogeum, there is a relief of an armed soldier followed by a warrior on a horse.

Grave goods. Pottery was an important component of the set of goods with which the defunct Canusine was laid to rest.[84] Until the middle of

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[81]Fedak 1990, p. 114.

[82]De Juliis 1988a, p. 149. See Tiné-Bertocchi 1964, pp. 15-62 for description and commentary on the painting and sculpture in tombs at Canusium.

[83]De Juliis 1988a, pp. 149-150.

[84]De Juliis (1982) lists the contents of a number of tombs excavated carefully in 1978 and 1979.

the third century B.C.,[85] in the more important tombs a variety of types and shapes were deposited. These types included Apulian red-figure pottery, some of which was produced at Canusium,[86] the "vasi listati," called such because of the parallel bands of decorative designs,[87] and the most characteristic funerary pottery, that known as "Canusine," typified by the *askoi* and *sphageia* with attached figurines and gorgoneia.[88]

The grander Canusine tombs were also provided with metal goods, both bronze and iron. For example, the recently discovered hypogeum "*dei Vimini*," dating to the late fourth century B.C., contained such items as a bronze tripod, iron spits, andirons, a bronze ladle, an iron spear head, a bronze hairpin, iron tweezers and a bronze strigil.[89] As well, the "Lenoci" hypogeum of the fourth century contained metal weapons and bits for horses.[90] Bronze anatomical breastplates, some with gilt decoration, have been found in several late fourth-century tombs.[91]

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[85]De Juliis 1988a, pp. 154-160.

[86]See Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978 for some examples.

[87]See Abruzzese 1974 for a discussion of the dating of the *vasi listati*.

[88]See van der Wielen 1978. A gorgoneion is a depiction, whether painted or in relief, of the face of Medusa the Gorgon, the monster from Greek mythology who had snakes for hair. The gorgoneion in art probably had an apotropaic significance.

[89]De Juliis 1990b, pp. 125-128.

[90]De Juliis 1981, pp. 458-459.

[91]See De Juliis 1990, pp. 152-153. The tombs are the "Vaso dei Persiani" tomb, the "Varrese" hypogeum, the "Scocchera A" tomb, and the "Monterisi Rossignoli" tomb.

As tombs became larger and more ornate in the course of the third century, the goods placed in them became more luxurious and were more often of foreign origin.[92] To some extent, the pottery and metal objects that abounded in tombs of the first half of the third century and earlier were replaced by imported luxury goods.[93] Items of amber, silver and gold, Alexandrian glassware, and jewelry have been recovered in a number Canusine hypogea.[94] The most famous of these is the "Tomba degli Ori," dating to the later third century or even to the early second century.[95]

Another material that has been found in a number of tombs is woven asbestos. At least in one carefully excavated tomb, the above-mentioned hypogeum "*dei Vimini*," it is clear that the deceased were subjected to a process of semi-cremation *in situ*.[96] In this process, the flesh of the corpse is consumed by the heat of a sacrificial pyre ignited beside the body inside the open tomb. When the heat subsided, the various grave goods were deposited and the tomb was sealed. Remains of asbestos cloth were found in this tomb and in other rich tombs as well.[97]

Simple graves containing only the basic funerary pottery and dating to the fourth and third centuries have also been found[98] and are in fact

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[92]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 185.

[93]De Juliis 1988b, pp. 645-646.

[94]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 185.

[95]Lippolis 1984, pp. 115-117,321-323, 446-451.

[96]De Juliis 1990b, pp. 129-132.

[97]Asbestos cloth has been recorded among the remains from the hypogea "Sant'Aloia," "Scocchera B," and the "Tomba degli Ori" (De Juliis 1990b, p. 131).

[98]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, pp. 191, 194.

in the majority,[99] a fact which underlines the important developments in Daunian society: there was now a great differentiation of wealth and the wealthy were absorbing some aspects of Hellenistic culture. Even very rich tombs, however, contain the same traditional funerary pottery as the simple graves, and the body was still buried in either the most traditional *ranicchiato* (fully flexed, or fetal) position, or in a modified position in which the torso is lain supine, but the legs are flexed and lie to one side.[100]

The Italic Temple

The most important Canusine monument dating to the period of the alliance with Rome is the large and grandiose temple located a short distance southeast of the city on the foundation of which was later constructed the Christian basilica dedicated to San Leucio. This temple, to judge by its stylistic features, was built at the end of the fourth century or early in the third century.[101] It was an essentially Italic-style temple with a central cella and lateral wings all opening onto the pronaos.[102] The design of the upper parts of the temple, however, was typical of the eclecticism of Hellenistic architecture of this period.[103] For example, a Doric frieze with sculpted metopes was used with columns

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[99]Lamboley 1982, p. 142.

[100]Lamboley 1982, pp. 142-143; Small 1989, p. 216.

[101]Pensabene 1990, p. 269.

[102]Pensabene 1990, p. 269.

[103]Pensabene 1990, p. 269.

(mostly half-columns in a pseudoperipteral design) supporting Ionic capitals and Corinthian-like figured capitals.[104] This temple, with its mix of Italic and Hellenistic elements, erected by the wealthy Canusine aristocracy, has been interpreted as a propagandistic commemoration of the ties uniting Rome and Canusium.[105] If the temple was devoted to the cult of Minerva, as it seems to have been according to a later Latin dedication,[106] it is another sanctuary to Athena who was also venerated at the temple of Athena Ilias at Luceria (Strabo 6.1.14), the Latin colony founded in 314 B.C., and thus another link with Roman culture.[107] In the Hellenistic period, only three peripteral temples are known to have been constructed in the Greek west: at Taormina, at Cirò (really a reconstruction), and at Canusium.[108] Most temples built in this period in the Greek west were much more modest in size and plan, a fact which emphasizes the wealth and sophistication of the Canusine elite.

The temple was constructed upon a rectangular podium a little over 1.5 m in height, the top of which measured 45.5 m by 33 m and was oriented roughly north-south with the main stairs on the north.[109] The foundations of the temple (excluding the narrow room behind the cella and wings) measure 33 m by 28 m, and would seem to have supported a double-colonnaded

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[104]Pensabene 1990, p. 269, 289-290.

[105]Pensabene 1990, p. 270, 298-300.

[106]ERC, Add. 12 and 12 A. The inscription reads "*C. Vibius Octavius Min(ervae) d(ono) d(edit)*." See also Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 207.

[107]Pensabene 1990, p. 270.

[108]Mertens 1984, pp. 437-438.

[109]Pensabene 1990, pp. 273, 276-278.

pronaos and, as mentioned, a central cella with two lateral wings.[110] The planners of the temple would seem to have deliberately incorporated a number of length-width proportions that were typical, some, of the Etrusco-Italic architectural tradition and, others, of the traditions of Magna Graecia.[111] In terms of its general appearance, it had the cella with lateral wings, the deep, double-colonnaded pronaos of the Etrusco-Italic temple, and the frontality that was accented by the tall narrow front stairway.[112] The Italiote elements include its pseudoperipteral form with the outer cellae of the Etrusco-Italic temple reduced to narrow wings and the Etrusco-Italic pronaos shortened in proportion to the total length of the temple and probably open on the sides, its use of Ionic and Corinthian-like figured capitals and other decorative elements.[113]

It has been possible to recover a sampling of the architectural decoration of the temple inasmuch as material from the temple was re-used in the construction of the Christian church that was constructed upon the foundations of the temple. Several Ionic capitals have been found that are characterized by the deep down-curving of the canal that joins the two volutes so that there is space above it for, on some, a rosette or, on others, a calix. This form of capital would seem to have originated in Greece in the fourth century and it is found at Tarentum and other sites in Magna Graecia.[114] Some Corinthian-like figured semi-capitals have also

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[110]Pensabene 1990, p. 274.

[111]Pensabene 1990, pp. 277-278.

[112]Pensabene 1990, p. 278.

[113]Pensabene 1990, pp. 280-281.

[114]Pensabene 1990, pp. 281-283.

been found in which a female or male head projects from the foliage. It was likely from Tarentum that this form of capital spread to other centres in Italy in the late fourth and early third centuries, and elements of the capitals at Canusium have close similarities to others found at Tarentum.[115] The sculpting of the heads is reminiscent of fourth-century Greek sculpture, and the earrings are similar to those on the *orans*-postured figurines found in Canusine tombs of the fourth and third centuries.[116] Aside from the capitals, many pieces of columns or half-columns have also been recovered. Some of the half-column, probably those topped with the Ionic capitals, would have been external and others, topped by the figured Corinthian columns, would have been inside the cella or the wings. The temple would thus have been pseudoperipteral with full columns only in the pronaos.[117]

Pieces belonging to a Doric frieze, a *sima* with leonine rainspouts and other parts of the architectural decoration have been found.[118] Of the frieze have been recovered some triglyphs and a metope with a relief of a metal anatomical breastplate similar to bronze breastplates found in Canusine tombs of the period. Pieces of a set of 5 m tall feral telamons have been found as well. Since the breastplate and even the use of the telamons (such as in the Olympeion of Agrigentum) are associated symbolically with military victory, their presence in the decoration of the Canusine temple may be related to some victory after the formation of

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[115]Pensabene 1990, pp. 283-285.

[116]Pensabene 1990, p. 285.

[117]Pensabene 1990, pp. 286-287, 296-298.

[118]Pensabene 1990, pp. 287-296.

the alliance with Rome, and this would most likely have been that over the Samnites or, less likely, over Pyrrhus or Taranto.[119]

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[119]Pensabene 1990, p. 293.

CHAPTER TWO

CANUSIUM BETWEEN THE HANNIBALIC AND SOCIAL WARS

Canusine Involvement in the Hannibalic War

In the summer of 216, Hannibal and his army entered Apulia and set up camp near Cannae, a village within the *ager Canusinus* (discussed below). The Carthaginians came here because the weather was warmer and the harvest earlier than in the hills of Samnium (Livy 22.43.5). The Roman army soon followed them to Cannae and in short order fought and lost the famous battle (Polyb. 3.107-108; Livy 22.43-49). This event encouraged many of the Roman allies in southern Italy to give their allegiance to Hannibal (Livy 22.61.10-13), although most of these did not greatly assist the Carthaginians militarily since Hannibal maintained his promise not to demand troops from them. Among the Apulian allies lost to Rome in the years after Cannae were such important centres as Arpi, Herdonia, Salapia, and Tarentum. Even before the end of the war, the Romans had recovered control of some of these centres, but after Hannibal had been definitely defeated, they were able to decide the fate of their erstwhile allies in a more systematic manner. It was decided that varying amounts of land would be confiscated from defecting communities and be made part of the *ager publicus populi romani*. This has traditionally been seen as having long-lasting detrimental effects on the economy of Apulia

in general: the land that was confiscated was taken out of agricultural production to the advantage of large-scale transhumant pastoralism, and the countryside became excessively depopulated.[120]

Canusium, as mentioned above, remained loyal to Rome throughout the war (Livy 27.12.7) and gave refuge to the remnant of the Roman army after the battle of Cannae of 216 (Livy 32.52-54; App. *Hann.* 24.26). On the face of it, then, loyal Canusium would not have been punished by Rome, so one would not expect to find that the worst consequences of the Hannibalic war and Roman retribution were experienced in the Canusine territory. Even Toynbee admitted that cities which neither defected nor were conquered (Canusium being one of these) were the "least unfortunate" since although their territories may have been ravaged by the Carthaginians, the cities themselves would have been unharmed, and the rural population and its movable property would have remained intact.[121]

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[120]This is the essential argument of Toynbee (1965, Vol. II).

[121]Toynbee 1965, v. II, p. 20. He (pp. 240 and 565) falls into the same error as Strabo's source did, however, in supposing that the empty space within the walls of Arpi and Canusium (6.3.9) in the second century is a sign of depopulation.

Brunt (1971, pp. 367-368) was also rather pessimistic about Canusium's level of prosperity in the late Republican period, arguing that the towns along the route of the future via Traiana, which include Canusium, could not have been populous and prosperous since that road was a mere mule track as Strabo (6.3.7) seems to say (as discussed below, however, more recent thought reads the Strabo passage differently, and the road may have been much better than a mule track). He argues that since Horace (*Sat.* 1.5.94-97) complained about the quality of the road linking Canusium to Bari, there must have been no commercial impulse to improve the road in this period. Brunt even seems to deny the Canosans their very bread and water in that he sees in Horace's comment on the gritty bread (Sat.1.5.91) of the area evidence that "the millers had to resort to an exceptionally high extraction rate", and in the eventual construction of an aqueduct in the Imperial period evidence that the town lacked a good water supply before that. In short, for Brunt, even around Canusium, the small farmer was displaced by the large estate that employed slaves to herd sheep and

The Continuity of Wealth after the War

Funerary customs. The funerary evidence from Canusium tends to confirm the suspicion that this city did not fare badly in the wake of the Hannibalic War. Burial in hypogeal tombs certainly continued to be practiced at the end of the third century since a Roman *victoriatus* dating to 211 or 210 was found by the head of a skeleton in an intact tomb there.[122] The style of the ceramic goods deposited in these late tombs shows a change at the end of the third century: figural and plastic ceramic styles almost disappear and, as mentioned above, are replaced by items in precious materials or of foreign craftsmanship.[123] For example, a Rhodian amphora--of little value in itself, but a container of prized imported wine--was recovered from the "Barbarossa" hypogeum that dates to the end of the third century or beginning of the second.[124] A faïence cup found in another complex also argues for a deposition of the same late date.[125] The glassware (gold-glass and millefiore bowl fragments) found in the Tomba degli Ori and an unknown tomb also be dated to about the same

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grow some grain.

[122]De Juliis 1980, p. 432.

[123]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, pp. 222-223. They note that burials datable to the end of the third century or to the second century have been found at other Daunian sites (e.g., Ausculum and Teanum Apulum. Also in these tombs, there is less pottery and more items of luxury in other materials.

[124]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 196. This tomb presents chronological problems in that along with the stamped Rhodian amphora, it also contained Apulian red-figured vases, which are datable to the late fourth or early third century (Nachod 1914, p. 277; Oliver 1968, p. 22).

[125]Mayer 1898, pp. 201-204; Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 196.

period.[126] Some of the items in gold found in the Tomba degli Ori are also datable to the end of the third century.[127]

The gorgoneion pottery appliqués. It has been argued that the gorgoneion appliqués attached to some of the *askoi* found in Canusine hypogea bear a close resemblence to the Rondanini Medusa,[128] as do the gorgoneia on a series of Cretan bowls dating almost certainly to the period 210 to 150.[129] That is, it is argued that both the Canusine gorgoneia and those of the Cretan bowls go back to the same prototype (ultimately the gorgoneion dedicated in Athens by Antiochus III, who ruled 223-187 B.C.), and that the Canusine gorgoneia (and the vessels these are found on) should be down-dated to the late third or even the second century B.C.

While there is a tradition of placing painted or terra-cotta gorgoneia on the front of Canusine *askoi* and *sphagheia* that is clearly

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[126]Oliver 1969. Harden (1968) conceded a late third-century date for some of the items, but because of other items in the tomb (Tomba degli Ori) felt that on the whole the glassware should be dated to the earlier part of the third century. Oliver's article, however, convincingly disposes of Harden's reservatiions.

[127]Oliver (1969, pp. 12-15) discusses a fragment of a gold-glass skyphos that has a pattern in the gold work that is very similar to the "loosely beribboned garland of flowers" that is the design of the gold diadem from the Tomba degli Ori. He argues, with the aid of several comparanda, that the glass skyphos form did not appear until very late in the third century or later. If so, this would be strong evidence that the diadem also dates to at least the end of the third century B.C. Also, a gold necklace from the same tomb has a very close replica in one at Berlin to which is attached a Tarentine coin datable to about 210 (Oliver 1968, p. 23).

[128]The Rondanini Medusa is presently displayed in the Glyptotek in Munich.

[129]Callaghan 1981, especially pp. 64-67.

earlier than or independent of the Rondanini-type gorgoneia,[130] there are a large number that do seem to be of this type.[131] The detail most clearly indicative of relation to the Rondanini Medusa and of derivation from the same intermediate model as the Cretan bowls is the lock of hair that sweeps forward across the right cheek.[132] On the basis of comparisons of terra-cotta figurines on some Canusine *askoi* (these *askoi* were decorated with gorgoneia, but it is not clear whether the gorgoneia on them were of the Rondanini type) with Egyptian faïence figurines depicting a Ptolemaic queen of the last quarter of the third century,[133] it has been argued that the Rondanini-type gorgoneia must date to the early second century. This is because the terra-cotta appliqué figurines found in the same contexts as the Canusine vessels that are also decorated with gorgoneia that do resemble the Rondanini Medusa are of a style that has been considered more evolved than the figurines resembling the Ptolemaic queen.[134]

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[130]For example, a photograph of a "*listato*" *askos* with a face painted where gorgoneia are usually placed can be seen in Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, fig. 244, p. 203. Another Canusine *askos*, this one with a terra-cotta gorgoneion that seems quite unlike the Rondanini-type models, can be seen in the same work, fig. 250, p. 209.

[131]A number of good photographs of such gorgoneia can be seen in the article by Hartmann (1978). The Canusine tombs from which these examples have been recovered are not mentioned, and are probably not known.

[132]To be precise, the Rondanini Medusa does not have hair sweeping across her cheek, but in origin, the head of the snake would have rested there.

[133]Comparisons of the Canusine figurines "with faïence portrait figures of Ptolemaic queens...indicate that they stand closest to the middle and later phase of Berenike II, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-222 B.C.). The slender proportions, however, only find parallels very late in the reign of Euergetes, and in that of his successor Ptolemy IV (222-205 B.C.)." (Callaghan 1981, p. 66).

[134]Callaghan 1981, pp. 66-67.

Both Cretan (Polyb. 5.53.2) and Tarentine (Polyb. 16.18.7) mercenaries participated in the campaigns of Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.) and the gorgoneion was an emblem closely associated with the Seleucid dynasty. Thus, as a result of this mercenary activity, both Cretans and Tarentines may have become acquainted with the gorgoneion that was a copy of the one placed on the acropolis of Athens probably by Antiochus III, which was the likely model of the Rondanini Medusa.[135] The motive would then seem to have reached Canusium from Tarentum and become very popular there for a while in the late third or the early second century B.C., and the vessels bearing this type of gorgoneion would date to this period.

In support of this argument, the gorgoneion on an *askos* recovered from the Tomba degli Ori[136] is of the Rondanini type, as is one from the "Scocchera B" hypogeum,[137] and both tombs probably received depositions around the end of the third century.[138] It is possible, however, to find examples of Canusine gorgoneia that have the locks of hair swept accross their cheeks that date to even the early third century.[139] The argument

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[135]This is the argument of Callaghan (1981). Unfortunately, the main photographs he refers to as comparanda were not available to me, so I cannot comment on their validity as such.

[136]A photograph of this can be seen in Bartoccini 1935, fig. 1, p. 228).

[137]Oliver 1968b, pp. 17-18.

[138]The Tomba degli Ori has just been discussed, and the dating of the "Scocchera B" tomb is discussed in Oliver (1968, pp. 21-24).

[139]An example of this would be the gorgoneion appliqués found in an apparantly intact tomb at Canosa in 1978. In the tomb were also found a Tarentine diobol (that was coined 380-334 B.C., but probably circulated after this), two Apulian red-figure vases of the late fourth century, and a "double" *listato* vase typical of this period (De Juliis 1982, pp. 255-257 and Tab. CX, fig. 2).

above was based on the examination of a very limited number of vases, and even these were discussed without any reference to the dating of their archaeological context, which, as is true of so much Canusine material, is probably quite unknown. It may be that some of the Canusine gorgoneia were indeed modelled indirectly after the Seleucid Medusa, but without the more reliable independent dating of some clear examples of those that were or were not derived from it, we cannot be sure of which ones they might be.[140] Thus, although the argument for a second-century dating for some of the Canusine gorgoneia must be considered weak, the other funerary evidence suggests that there was no strong and immediated fall in the standard of living of the élite of Canusium at the end of the third century.

Ethnic Continuity after the War

As evidence of decline of the indigenous culture in Apulia after the Hannibalic War, it has been pointed out that very few indigenous family names are known from this period. It has been concluded that the indigenous aristocracy gave way to new families who arrived in the wave of Roman immigration into the area in the second century, mainly from central Italy since they were involved in the nascent transhumant pastoralism.[141]

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[140]The comparison of Canusine figurines with Ptolemaic ones represents an attempt at independent dating, but Callaghan has provided no photographs, so one is not able to see how closely the styles match. It should also be noted that many of the examples of vases with plastic decorations have been "reconstituted" whether by well-meaning museum curators or by black marketeers, and the appliqués on a given vase may not have been on that vase originally (see Hartmann 1978).

[141]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p.226; cf. Grelle 1981, especially pp. 221-223.

In fact, however, as mentioned above, some Messapic names do survive into later periods in romanized form,[142] and there are other names that may with less certainty be of indigenous origin.[143] The Canusines of the second century known by name are commemorated in Greece: in a list of proxenoi at Delphi dating to 195/4 B.C., Blattos, son of Matouros, is noted as Canusine,[144] and a votive altar at Epidaurus dating to the second century was dedicated by another Canusine whose name was Dazos.[145] In the very late Republic and the Imperial period, however, these few Messapic or Messapic-derived names seem insignificant among the dozens of Roman and Greek names, but a number of the individuals encountered epigraphically held important posts in the local government. It has been suggested that the indigenous upper classes changed their names to Roman ones, perhaps as part of the municipalization process of the early first century,[146] but there is no evidence for this beyond the existence of the romanized names noted above. Probably the indigenous élite, who never had a tradition of epigraphic self-commemoration, did not disappear, but retained positions of power in the community, sharing this power more and more over the next

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[142]Silvestrini 1990b, p. 258. Such names encountered in Canusine inscriptions include Artorius (*ERC* 35,79,80, and 131), Blassidius (*ERC* Add. 19), Busidius (*ERC* 28), Dasimius (*ERC* 35, 40, 41, 56, 119, 122, 123, and 138), Dastidius (*ERC* Add. 21), and Tutorius (*ERC* 197, 198, and Add. 10).

[143]Silvestrini 1990b, p. 258. These names include Critonius (*ERC* 117), Ennius (*ERC* 35, 42, 197, and Add. 20), Graecidius (*ERC* 35, 141, 207, and Add. 24), and Libuscidius (*ERC* 35,50,58, 130b, 148, 152, and Add. 8).

[144]*ERC* App. I, 2. The name is Βλάττος Ματούρου Καννῖνος

[145]*ERC* App. I, 3. The name is Δάζος Δάζου Καννῖνος

[146]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 228.

two centuries with newer people who had non-Messapic-derived names, so that by the early centuries A.D., when almost all of the incriptions that survive were produced, Messapic-derived names represent only a small minority of the names recorded. From the Republican period, however, we have very few names of Canusines of any derivation, and the particular names preserved may not reliably reflect the composition of the society or the local government.

The Trade in Wine

The importing of wine. Wine was imported from Magna Graecia in the later fourth century, as is indicated by the find of an amphora from Magna Graecia in the "Varrese" hypogeum,[147] and later it was also imported from beyond Italy as is indicated by the find of a Rhodian amphora in the "Barbarossa" Hypogeum, which dates to the late third or early second century.[148] As well, a number of handles from Rhodian amphoras found at Canusium date to the second century.[149] That wine was imported, however, does not exclude the possibility of local production, and indeed wine would seem to have been produced in the *ager Canusinus*, probably on a commercial scale by the later second century as both literary and archaeological evidence indicate.[150]

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[147]Volpe 1990 p. 60, 237.

[148]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, p. 196.

[149]Volpe 1990, pp. 237-238.

[150]The literary evidence for wine production precisely at Canusium is stronger than the archaeological evidence, as will be clear in the discussion that follows.

Literary evidence for wine production. Although referring to Italy of the mid first century B.C.,[151] Varro (*Rust.* 1.8.2-3), in his description of viticultural practices, mentions only five areas in his examples, of which three are Apulian, and one of these is the Canusine territory. He points out the peculiar use of only upright vine support at Canusium, whereas both vertical and horizontal support is used elsewhere in Italy. Varro also mentions that at Canusium, fig trees are used to support the vines.[152] That Canusine viticultural practices merited the attention of the Roman writer, just as did the practices of the Falernum or the Mediolanense, is an indication that wine was produced in significant quantity there.[153] Aside from Varro's comments, Apulian viticulture is referred to only by Pliny in the first century A.D., who mentions the use of ropes to support the vines at Brundisium (*HN* 17.166).

The location of the vineyards. Unfortunately, no farm sites have been found in the *ager Canusinus* from any period in antiquity that betray

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[151]R. Martin (1971, p. 237) argues that Varro's *R.R.* 1 was composed c. 58-57 (non vidi).

[152]Grelle (1981, p. 200) comments that this is a primitive method inconsistent with intensive production. Grelle seems to be assuming that unless production of an agricultural commodity occurred in large estates with large fields, vineyards or orchards, the production could not have been commercially important. More likely, however, most specialized production occurred on smaller farms (see the discussion below). It should be noted as well that in fact choice wines were made from grapes harvested from vines trained onto trees, even fig trees (Pliny *NH* 17.35.199-200).

[153]I say "quantity" and not "quality" in view of the fact that we have no explicit attestations by Roman authors to the quality of the local wine, but it was arguably produced and exported in some quantity. That such praises by Roman authors are lacking may be an accident of the market: most of this wine was exported eastward, and there are, in fact, some favourable references in Greek literature to the wine of Hadria or Atri in the south of Picenum, not so very far from the Canusine area. (see Tchernia 1986, pp. 167-168).

clear evidence of wine production. On the basis of aerial photographs that show the traces of the trenches for vines and tree holes for olives dug into the *crusta*, it has been estimated that about half of the Tavoliere was subjected to cultivation in antiquity, and of this about 60 percent was devoted to vines and olives.[154] It is difficult to know how well these observations apply specifically to the part of the Tavoliere that fell within the Canusine territory.[155] There were, however, numerous farms in the Canusine *ager* that probably produced a variety of commodities. Within about a 10 km radius of the city, about thirty Roman-period farm sites have been identified, of which about half were occupied in the late Republic and continued to be so well into the Imperial period, while the rest are Imperial-period foundations.[156]

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[154]Jones 1980, pp. 97-100.

[155]The probable limits of the Canusine territory are discussed below.

[156]Moreno Cassano 1981, pp. 234-241. See also the list of sites in Volpe 1990, pp. 160-170. It should be noted that these sites have not been identified in the course of systematic field survey, but are more random discoveries and differ widely in reliability as proper rural farm sites: until more systematic work is done, this evidence must be used with some reserve. About this many sites have also been identified around other modern towns (e.g., Barletta, Cerignola, Minervino Murge, Montemilone, Spinazzola) that are situated in territory that depended on Canusium in Antiquity (see Volpe 1990, 157-160, 170-174). As well, mostly dating from the Imperial period, the freedmen encountered in the Canusine inscriptions (considering only the readable names) are distributed in 78 *gentes* out of a total of 142 *gentes* (Chelotti 1990a, pp. 243-244). That so many *gentes* are represented among the freedmen would suggest that there were many families that could afford a small number of slaves, and that the local economy was not dominated by only a few large landowners.

At some of the sites that seem to date from the late Republican period,[157] the remains of dolia and amphorae have been found, but this surface material has not been finely classified and dated. Of these sites, one, La Minoia (3.5 km southeast of Canosa), has been subjected to formal excavation.[158] Material relating to its first phase, which extended from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D., include a well preserved oil vat, carved into the tufa and coated with a *cocciopesto* surface, and an adjacent set of paved surfaces that constitute the remains of the oil press. As well, a line of large dolia were found closeby *in situ*. In the preparation layer underlying the press pavement, a handle from a Lamboglia 2 amphora was found that helps to confirm the late Republican-period construction of this oil extraction arrangement.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that at least a portion of the farm sites identified in the Canusine territory hosted vineyards and that wine was produced for sale. In the Republican period, wine production was not an activity practiced on large senatorial-scale estates, but one that was characteristic of the smaller farm.[159] The produce of these vineyards

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[157]These sites, in the lists mentioned in an earlier note, include the "*località*" Donna Giuditta, Santa Lucia, La Minoia, Contrada Colavecchia, Pozzo San Giorgio, Quarto, and Strada della Marchesa.

[158]The results of the excavations of 1988 and 1989 are summarized in Volpe 1990, pp. 162-168, and the 1989 excavations are described in more detail in Cassano 1990, pp. 332-334.

[159]Purcell 1985, pp. 5-9. He argues from numerous literary references that the senatorial class had strong prejudices about engaging in the production of wine and in any case were not prepared to commit the necessary effort and investment in the difficult and risky venture of viticulture. As well, he observes that in the sources, no senator is unequivocally linked to viticulture before the first century A.D. He also cites archaeological evidence of very small vineyards at

could have been collected by the *mercatores* mentioned by Varro (*Rust.* 2.6.5) who used donkeys to transport wine, oil, grain and other products to the coast *e Brundisino aut Apulia.*[160] Presumably, the products transported to market in this way were in skins or sacks, and not contained in amphorae, which would have been too heavy to be profitably moved long distances through the countryside in large quantity. It is noteworthy that the amphora factories in the Brindisine area have only been found close to the city, which is on the coast.[161] As yet, however, such amphora factories have not been identified anywhere in the Canusine territory.

The Lamboglia 2 amphora. The most important evidence of wine production that may well have involved Canusium is that provided by the Lamboglia 2 amphora type.[162] This amphora is the most commonly documented type found inland in the northern Apulian centres and is also well

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Pompeii and Cosa. As noted above in a note above, Grelle (1981) incorrectly assumes differently.

[160]*Apulia* here denotes the area north of the Brindisi area, and could easily include the territory of Canusium. Purcell (1985, pp. 12-13), Desy (1989, p. 187), and Volpe (1990, p. 261) all comment on this passage.

[161]See, for example, Sciarra (1972) for a discussion of contrada Apani. Desy (1989, pp. 187-188) speculates that at Brundisium the large amphora shops were located near the town because there were no water courses to trasport amphorae from points closer to the farms. He contends that the stamps on the Brindisi-type amphorae did not identify the producers of the oil or other products, but the owner of the kiln or his subordinates, who in turn were distinct from the *mercatores*.

[162]This amphora type is discussed in Desy 1989 (*passim*); Tchernia 1986 (*passim*); Volpe 1982-83, pp. 27-36; Volpe 1985, pp. 294-297; Volpe 1986, pp. 81-87; Volpe 1989, pp. 629-632; and Volpe 1990, pp. 226-227.

represented further afield at such places as Milan and Aquileia.[163] As well, it has been found all along the Adriatic coasts, found especially frequently in the waters near Salapia (which had access to the sea in antiquity), Siponto, and Barletta, the probable site of the Canusine maritime port (see below). The Lamboglia 2 is contemporary with the Dressel 1 wine amphora that was typical of the Tyrrhenian coast from the mid-second century to the Augustan period. The wine and oil of the southern Adriatic coast of Italy would seem to have been traded primarily in the Mediterranean lands to the east of the Apennines of Italy and the products of Campania mainly in the lands to the west: Apulia was much closer to the Greek market, and Campania had ready markets on the west coast of Italy.

The oldest known examples of Lamboglia 2 amphorae are from a shipwreck off Majorca dating to 175-125 B.C. and the latest are from a wreck off the Tremiti Islands dating to about 30 B.C., the circulation reaching a peak in the early first century B.C.[164] Among the amphora remains from this shipwreck is a part of a handle bearing part of a name that might be restored as [DA]SMI, of one of the more important Canusine families (see below).[165] It was a wine amphora, as is indicated by the pitch found inside of examples from several shipwrecks,[166] and indeed, an

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[163]Tchernia 1986, pp. 68-70. He speculates that this may be connected to the remark in Strabo (5.1.8) that the Illyrians would come to Aquileia to trade slaves, skins, and livestock for wine, which was transferred from amphorae to wooden barrels for inland transport.

[164]Desy 1989, p. 11.

[165]Volpe 1986, pp. 85-86.

[166]See Volpe 1982-83, p. 30.

intact amphora of the type has been found with its contents that prove to have been wine.[167] There was also an Apulian oil amphora, the Brindisi-type amphora, that was contemporary with the Lamboglia 2, important factories for which have been located in the area of Brindisi.[168]

It has been generally supposed that the Lamboglia 2 was made in Apulia, perhaps even in the Canusine territory, but, as mentioned above, no kilns or other clear evidence of a factory making the amphorae have as yet been found there.[169] Further north along the Adriatic coast, there is more solid evidence of production at the site of *Potentia* near Ancona and at Atri, the site of ancient *Hatria* at the south end of Picenum.[170] Among the stamped Lamboglia 2 amphorae, a dozen recognizable gentilicial names appear, four of which are names that appear among the Canusine inscriptions, but these (non-amphora) inscriptions date to the Imperial period and give no clue about possible business interests of the people named.[171] In spite of the lack of positive evidence, which, in the end may be still be discovered, an Apulian origin of the Lamboglia 2 amphora still seems likely inasmuch as Varro's comment on the Apulian *mercatores*,

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[167]Volpe 1982-83, p. 30; Tchernia 1986, p. 53.

[168]Desy 1989 (*passim*); Volpe 1982-82, pp. 51-53; and Volpe 1990, p. 227.

[169]Desy 1989, p. 10; Volpe 1990, pp. 226-227. Other places of production that have been suggested have been Cisalpine Gaul, the Fermo area of central Italy, and the eastern coast of the Adriatic near Durrës.

[170]Tchernia 1986, pp. 54-56.

[171]The amphora stamps are listed in Desy (1989) and the *gentes* in question are Camuria, Fabia, Salvia, and Statia. For related Canusine inscriptions, see *ERC* Add. 20 (Camuria), 35 (Fabia), 177 (Salvia), and 35 (Statia).

the density of the finds along the northern Apulian coast, and the lack of any other amphora type that could have served as a container for northern Apulian wine would point in that direction.[172]

Delos and the slave trade. As well as in the Adriatic basin mentioned above, the Lamboglia 2 has been found in the Aegean basin in good numbers.[173] The amphora is well represented among those found at Delos, and the wine it held would seem to have been both consumed by the Italians, some of whom may have been Canusine, and traded by them to other peoples.[174]

After the fall of Perseus in 168 B.C., when Delos was declared a free port and the Rhodian power collapsed, piracy ballooned in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean in general. Delos became important as a trading centre, and slaves, partly supplied by pirates, were one important commodity traded there (Strabo 15.5.2).[175] As noted, a Canusine presence was already attested on Delos from the last century,[176] and Canusines (as well as other southern Italians) would have been well positioned to profit from this trade. That it was from this time that the Lamboglia 2 amphora made its appearance is not mere coincidence if indeed wine was a commodity that figured in the slave trade. Other instances of wine being

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[172]This is not to say that wine produced (and put into Lamboglia 2 amphorae) in Picenum area was not important. Much less archaeological research has been conducted in that region, and it is even more poorly documented in ancient literature than Apulia. There may yet be much to discover.

[173]Tchernia 1986, pp. 70-72.

[174]Tchernia 1986, pp. 70-73; Wilson 1966, p. 119.

[175]Wilson 1966, pp. 102-105.

[176]*ERC* App. I,1.

traded for slaves are known from the Aegean and Black Sea basins (e.g., Polyb. 4.38.4-5; Strabo 11.2.3).

At this time the Adriatic coast of Italy was becoming more important than it had ever been before. One reason for this was the atrophy of Tarentum on the Ionic coast from the end of the third century because of Roman reprisals for its defection in the Hannibalic war. The other reason was that Brundisium had quickly become very busy as a Roman port because of the wars in the eastern Mediterranean lands.[177] While we lack documentation, this increased attention to the southern Adriatic coast surely entailed investment in the production of commodities for trade, whether wine in northern Apulia or oil in the area of Brundisium.

The trade in wine would seem to have fared well for over a hundred years, but in the mid-first century B.C., the Roman government may have been unintentionally responsible for disrupting this traffic. In 67 B.C. the *Lex Gabinia* gave Pompey the authority to fight piracy in the Mediterranean, and he very quickly curtailed it. As a result, the supply of slaves fell greatly, and Delos was abandoned in 60-50 B.C.[178] The circulation of Lamboglia 2 amphorae decreased greatly from about this time: the Ῥωμαῖοι of Delos, including the Canusines who may have been there, dispersed, many settling in Cos and Chios, producing their own wine

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[177]Another sign of the growing export importance of the area in this century is that Apulian grain continued to be produced with exportable surplusses, as is indicated by the notice that in 172 B.C. it was used to supply the Roman armies in Greece (Livy 42.27.8) and towards the end of the century, Strabo's source noted the grain exports from Sipontum (Strabo 6.3.9).

[178]Wilson 1966, p. 143.

there,[179] others perhaps going to the western Mediterranean, where Lamboglia 2 amphorae have also been found in small numbers.[180] The reduction in the production and exportation of Apulian wine must thus have been greatly reduced by the Augustan period.[181]

A wine-trading family. A probable case of a Canusine family involved in the Aegean wine trade would be suggested by an amphora fragment, datable to the around the end of the Republican period, that was found at Priene and bears the abbreviated name of a P. Libuscidius. The *gens Libuscidia* was a family most probably originating at Canusium and is well attested in the Canusine inscriptions from the first to the fourth centuries A.D., but epigraphically attested nowhere else in Italy.[182] Although the amphora type is not identifiable, it is possible, on the basis of this family connection, that this amphora originated in the Canusine territory.[183] The name is also encountered in a an Augustan-period inscription from Physcus, a town in the Rhodian *peraea*, and in two later inscriptions from Rhodes,[184] suggesting that a branch of the Canusine family

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[179]Tchernia 1986, p. 166; Hatzfeld 1919, pp. 151-154.

[180]Tchernia (1986, p. 166) speculates that these amphorae may be posterior in date to the abandonment of Delos, but these amphorae have not been so precisely dated.

[181]The reduction in wine production, however, may not have been as dramatic as the evidence from amphorae would suggest inasmuch as in this period, consumption in the growing towns of Italy was increasing steadily, and for inland transport, skins or barrels would have been used more than amphorae. (Purcell 1985, pp. 13-19).

[182]The only exceptions are a late antique Christian inscription from Capua (Silvestrini 1990b, p. 260 and n. 45) and the senator noted in *CIL* IV, 31544.

[183]*ERC* Instr. 29; Silvestrini 1990b, p. 260.

[184]*IG* XII.1.4.III.43; *IG* XII.1.859.

settled in this area, perhaps specifically to carry on trade of Canusine wine.

The Aufidus River and the Port of Canusium

River navigability and a river port. If the products of the Canusine territory were exported by sea, there must have been a port available for Canusine use. Strabo (6.3.9) mentions an emporium serving Canusium that was on the Aufidus River. At best, unless the river was much better canalized than it is today, it could only have been a place to dock small crafts whose hulls were rather flat, and it may not have been usable in the dry months of the summer.[185] There is, however, no archaeological evidence for a river port. Strabo did say that one had to navigate up the river for 90 stades before arriving at the emporium, and this would imply that the emporium was located near the city, or, more probably at Cannae.[186] This is plausible since the part of the river east of Cannae is more suitable for small boats[187] and, as discussed, grain may well have been stored at Cannae for export purposes because that was where the emporium was.

There has been disagreement, however, about the navigability of the Aufidus in antiquity.[188] Although in the sources, the river is described

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[185]Alvisi 1970, p. 126.

[186]Alvisi 1970, p. 126. This was also the opinion of Nissen (1883-1902, v.II, p.852). See also Volpe 1985, p. 286.

[187]Alvisi 1970, p. 127.

[188]Jacobone (1925, pp. 56-60) did not think that the Ofanto was ever navigable at all. Alvisi (1970, pp. 38, 126-127), however, argues that it was navigable for at least some distance in some seasons.

as "*violens*" (Hor.*Od.*3.30), "*acer*" (Hor.*Sat.*1.1), "*sonans*" (Hor.*Od.*4.1), "*tauriformis*" (Hor.*Od.*4.14), an "*amnis*" (Verg. *Aen.* 11.405), and "*furens*" with a "*rapido gurgite*" (Sil. Ital. 10.319-320 and 11.508), it must be observed that these references are from poetry where exaggeration might be expected. Although even in prose Livy (22.44) calls the river an "*amnis*," he immediately indicates that it was easily fordable (22.45-46).[189] His reference, however, is in connection with the Battle of Cannae which took place in early August when the water-level of the river would have been at its lowest: in winter and spring the water would have been higher, especially if the hills were well-wooded in antiquity, so that navigation with small boats may well have been possible, at least for some distance up the river.

The maritime port and Bardulos. Whether or not there was a river port, there was most likely a maritime port, probably at *Bardulos*, ancient Barletta.[190] Besides the river route between these two places, there were roads joining Canusium and *Bardulos* (as discussed in the next chapter). The exact location of the port has not been discovered, but there is an eighteenth century reference to thick walls, perhaps moles, very near the modern port of Barletta.[191] This is worth little as evidence, however, as the structure, not presently visible, could just as well be medieval since the port was important in the Angevin period.[192] Unfortunately, the

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[189]Polybius (3.110.10-11; 3.113.1,6) also implies that the river was easily crossed on foot.

[190]Alvisi 1970, p. 104; Jacobone 1925, pp. 62-64; Volpe 1985.

[191]Jacobone 1925, p. 63.

[192]Volpe 1990, p. 96.

coastline in the area has changed considerably since antiquity because of the currents of the Adriatic waters as they round the Garganus Promontory: sand tends to be deposited along this northern Apulian coastline.[193] There have been numerous artifacts that have been found underwater near Barletta, but it is not known if there is any special concentration here or, even if there was, its relationship with the possible port.[194]

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[193]Alvisi 1970, pp. 58-59; Volpe 1985, pp. 285-286.

[194]Volpe 1985, pp. 303-306.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL WAR AND CANUSIUM AS A MUNICIPIUM

Canusine Participation in the Social War: A Critique of F. Grelle's Analysis

Canusium during the Social War. The fullest ancient account of the Social War that we have is that of Appian (*BCiv.* 1.34-54), but unfortunately even this account is somewhat confused and lacking in detail. Nonetheless, in an article of 1981,[195] F. Grelle has presented a description of the social and economic situation of Canusium and neighbouring towns at the beginning of the first century B.C. that purports to account for certain suggestive statements in Appian's account. Although the article has been frequently and positively cited, his arguments are not free of problems, and it would be well to examine them in some detail.[196]

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[195]Grelle 1981.

[196]To be fair, the first half of the article, in which he discusses the background events of the Social War, is where his arguments are most problematic. The second half of the article, in which he discusses the Imperial period at Canusium contains much very good material. The first half is here reviewed at length because the article is considered important, but it has not been criticized by other commentators. In so general an article, Grelle was not able to use or explain fully all of his evidence for his views, something he will surely do to good effect in his forthcoming book on the subject of Roman Canusium.

Appian (*BCiv.* 1.39) says that among the groups that declared war against Rome when Ausculum revolted in late 91 B.C. were the Venusians and the Apulians (Ἰαπυγες. Some paragraphs later, however, Appian (*BCiv.* 1.42) says that Venusia and Canusium revolted only the next spring at the approach of the Italian general G. Vidacilius, and that other Apulian towns were taken by force for the Italians. Since, in addition, Livy's tradition fails to mention Venusia and the Apulians among the groups that mobilized at the revolt of Ausculum (Livy *Per.* 72; Eutropius 5.3.1; Orosius 5.18.8), Grelle argues that Venusia and Canusium must indeed have entered the struggle later than the other rebellious groups.[197] Because of this and because Venusia, Canusium, and some other towns in the area resisted Rome until the next year after the franchise had been granted to those putting down their arms (Appian *BCiv.* 1.49; 1.52), Grelle argues that the acquisition of the franchise was not the main goal of these insurgents.[198] Instead, he argues that class conflicts within the Apulian towns were the reason for their entrance into the Social War. He sees the evidence for this in Appian's description of the Apulian campaign of the Italian general, Vidacilius (Appian *BCiv.* 1.42).[199] In this account, Venusia and Canusium did not revolt until an Italian army was approaching, but did join in the revolt voluntarily at this time. Other towns, however, had to be compelled by force to change their allegiance, and in these, the resident Romans who were most prominent (ἐπιφανεις were killed and those of lower class (δημοται) were enrolled along with the slaves in

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[197]Grelle 1981, pp. 181-182.

[198]Grelle 1981, p. 182.

[199]Grelle 1981, pp. 184-185.

Vidacilius' army. Grelle also argues that the participation of these towns in the conflict primarily for the purpose of gaining the Roman franchise is not likely also because, in fact, by 90 B.C. most of the council members at the Latin colony of Venusia would already have been Roman citizens *per magistratum*, and that these would not have been interested in gaining Roman citizenship for the whole community.[200]

In his examination of Appian's account, Grelle has overlooked some important details. First, not only Venusia and the Apulian cities remained fighting well after the Roman Senate had offered the franchise to Italians in exchange for peace (if indeed the *lex Iulia* was as inclusive as Velleius [2.16] implies), but most of the Italian groups except the Etruscans and the Umbrians kept fighting (Appian *BCiv.*, 1.49). Thus the reason that the Venusians and the Apulians kept fighting was not likely one that was peculiar to this small part of Italy. Second, while Appian says that prominent Romans were killed in the Apulian towns, he says nothing about prominent Apulians in those towns being killed. If only Romans were executed, the conflict in Apulia, as elsewhere, should be interpreted as the outcome of hostility towards Rome. That lower-class Romans and slaves were enrolled in the Italian army is not too difficult account for in this context: the lower-class Roman residents may have had little choice, and the slaves would have been eager to enjoy freedom as soldiers if, again, they had a choice at all. Perhaps, however, only the Romans among the local aristocracy were considered worthy of mention by Appian's Roman sources, but to insist on this is to go beyond the evidence at hand.

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[200]Grelle 1981, pp. 182-184.

The reasons for Canusine participation. Granting, for the moment, however, his interpretation of Appian's account, Grelle attempts to account for the apparent state of affairs through an examination of the settlement patterns in the area at this time.[201] He argues, as others have, that during the second century B.C., as a result of the Roman land confiscations in Apulia, much property there was being absorbed into large estates for the specialized production of export commodities (grain, wine, oil, wool), and that many subsistence farmers were being forced off their property only to live in the towns and find seasonal work on the large estates. It was, Grelle implies, at such places that the lower classes would most clearly have hailed the arrival of Vidacilius as their opportunity to attempt a popular revolution.

Grelle goes on to say, however, that during this same period a band of territory in the southern part of Daunia, including the territories of Salapia, Herdonia, Ausculum, and Venusia, was kept under cultivation by subsistence farmers, whether indigenous or immigrant. Although Canusine territory, as far as is known, was never subjected to any of the Republican land redistribution programs, Grelle says that it must be included in this group of towns since there is archaeological evidence of many small rural sites in its territory that must have been subsistence farms.[202] He says that there was no possibility of the use of neighbouring

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[201]Grelle 1981, pp. 192-199.

[202]As discussed above, within a 10 km radius of Canosa, that is, over a roughly 300 km^2 area, only about thirty rural settlement sites have been identified, of which only a portion date clearly to the Republican period. Even allowing for the loss of much evidence over the centuries, this hardly "una sorprendente proliferazione di piccoli e piccolissimi stanziamenti rurali, praticati senza visibile soluzione di contiuità nei secoli" (Grelle 1981, p. 198).

lands for estate expansion on the part of the Canusine aristocracy since the territories surrounding that of Canusium, at least on its north and west, were too densely occupied by colonists, Gracchan or otherwise. He proposes as well that this settlement pattern of small subsistence plots also hindered the wealthy men of the centres surrounding Canusium from moving ahead with similar designs. He argues that estate expansion was possible in other parts of Apulia where large tracts of land had been confiscated by the Romans, but not resettled by veterans or urban poor, and that the development of large estates was necessary if the local aristocrats were to recapture the prosperity that their forebears had enjoyed before the Hannibalic War. Thus, Grelle concludes, by the beginning of the first century B.C., there were still many small-scale farmers in the territories of these towns, and that this caused the aristocracies, impoverished and demoralized, to collapse at the arrival of Vidacilius.

Grelle's argument is somewhat confusing. On the one hand, in some of these towns, the wealthy, whether local or Roman, were developing the commercial production of wine and oil, as well as devoting large tracts of land to grain production and herding, and in these cases the subsistence farmers were being forced off the land, so that they were prepared to side with Vidacilius in revolt. On the other hand, in some towns, such as Venusia and especially Canusium, the wealthy were never able to develop oliviculture and viticulture for commercial purposes because, in the case of Venusia and some other towns, the town's territory was divided into lots for Gracchan colonists, and in the case of Canusium, for no reason that he makes clear beyond the notion that the aristocracy failed to gain

control of the land in the town's territory for the purpose of specialized production. Even if this had been possible, he argues, the Canusine aristocracy would not have been able to grow grain for export or become a part of the developing transhumance network because the land in the surrounding territories was too densely settled to allow the existence of extensive wheat fields or the passage of large herds of sheep into Canusine territory. The most confusing part of his argument, however, is that he fails to explain why the lower classes should have wanted to rebel against the local leaders if Canusine small-scale farmers, unlike those in other areas, were not being forced from their land in favour of larger-scale estates.

Grelle attempts to support his interpretation of events at Canusium by showing how the local wealthy had failed to prosper in the century after the Hannibalic war.[203] He points out that about a decade before the Social War, Artemidorus, as recorded by Strabo (6.3.9) and as discussed above, saw the city as being greatly depopulated.[204] Although Grelle admits that at least in Arpi there normally were areas unoccupied by buildings, he still insists that the pessimistic tone of the passage referring to Arpi and Canusium in Strabo must indicate that these cities were in fact considerably depopulated. Certainly Strabo (following his source) did think that these cities had suffered decline on the basis of the empty space within their walls. If, however, Grelle realizes that open space within the walls of these Apulian cities was normal, it is not clear why

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[203]Grelle 1981, pp. 196-198.

[204]Grelle 1981, pp. 196-197; 202-203.

he still sees the comment of Strabo as evidence that Canusium had indeed suffered a population decline in the years after the Hannibalic War.

Grelle argues that second-century depopulation and economic decline are confirmed by the lack of archaeological material from the town dating to the second century.[205] We should not, however, expect to find many architectural remains from the second century B.C. at Canusium since evidence from other northern Apulian centres, except for Herdonia and Sipontum, which were refoundations, would indicate that urban development was a mainly first century phenomenon that followed the acquisition of municipal status.[206] In fact, however, there seem to have been some renovations or embellishments carried out on the temple under the Basilica of S. Leucio.[207] As well, the city walls were maintained down to this period since they provided refuge for the army of Trebatius, a Samnite general, during the Social war (Appian *BCiv.* 1.52).

He sees the apparent disuse of the custom of burial in richly furnished hypogeal tombs as more evidence of economic difficulty in the second century.[208] That tradition, however, fell into general disuse in the course of the second century because of a change in funerary custom, probably associated with the general adoption of more cosmopolitan Roman practices, rather than because of the impoverishment of the aristocracy.

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[205]Grelle 1981, p. 196. In any case, after more than two thousand years of constant occupation of the same site, especially when systematic excavations have not been carried out, an argument from silence is very weak.

[206]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, pp. 37-49.

[207]Mazzei and Lippolis 1984, pp. 240-243.

[208]Grelle 1981, p. 196.

As noted above, the best-appointed tombs are, in fact, among the latest ones known, some of which may well date from the second century. If cremation became common in this period, even very expensive funerals would have left little trace.

Grelle also mentions that one does not find references to Canusines among the inscriptions of the Aegean commercial ports that date later than the early second century, in spite of the generally increasing Italian presence there during this period.[209] That there is no mention of Canusines in the Greek trading centres that clearly date later than the early second century is of little weight as evidence of decline of the local economy because there are only a few of these references in all, so that in this case an argument from silence seems quite unwarranted.

While Artemidorus, Strabo's probable source, noted the exportation of grain from the port of Sipontum, he did not make any such observations about the Canusine port (Strabo 6.3.9). Grelle argues that this is because there was little that was exported from the Canusine port.[210] This is again an argument from silence, and the reason for this silence may have been quite insignificant: perhaps Strabo's source was never personally at the port of Canusium. Certainly, Strabo called the port an ἐμπορειον and this implies that regular exchange of goods of some kind occurred there.

The references to pastoralism and wool production before the Social War in Varro and Strabo do not regard Canusium, but instead mention activity in the area between Arpi and Luceria, and in the territories of

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[209]Grelle 1981, pp. 203-204.

[210]Grelle 1981, p. 201.

Brundisium and Tarentum (Strabo 6.3.9; 6.3.6). Grelle contends that because there is no specific mention in the literary sources of pastoralism and a wool industry at Canusium in the second century B.C., it must not have existed at all at this time.[211] In fact, he says that the dense pattern of settlement in the territories around the Canusine lands acted as "una cintura protettiva" that prevented pastoral movement through the area.[212] However, even if this economic activity did not become important in the Canusine territory until later in the first century B.C., as Grelle not unreasonably argues, this need not be taken as evidence that the Canusine wealthy were financially incapable of procuring the necessary land. It may be that other uses of the land were more profitable in this period.

It has been argued above that viticulture was one profitable use of Canusine land in the second century, but Grelle dismisses this idea as well. Varro (*Rust.* 1.8.2-3) mentions that at Canusium grapes are produced by training the vines onto fig trees. Grelle insists, however, that this technique is not compatible with specialized production for export, presumably because the grape yield in a field in which both vines and fig trees were were cultivated would have fallen below a commercially acceptable limit. He assumes too that the dense pattern of small rural sites around the town is also quite incompatible with specialized viticulture.[213] Grelle also does not distinguish between the various types

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[211]Grelle 1981, pp. 197-198; 201.

[212]Grelle 1981, p. 197.

[213]Grelle 1981, pp. 198, 200. These comments have been discussed in the last chapter.

of Apulian amphorae: he assumes that they all, including the Lamboglia 2 amphora,[214] held oil. He is, however, equally pessimistic about the possibility of production of oil in northern Apulia for the purpose of export.[215]

A simpler hypothesis. In the end, Grelle's somewhat Marxist interpretation of the behavior of the Apulians at the time of the Social war has too many logical and factual errors to prove satisfactory. A simpler explanation of the delayed entry into the Social War by Venusia, Canusium, and other Apulian cities may be that the Oscan-speaking groups to the west and north of northern Apulia formed an alliance that the Messapic-speaking groups, which included the Canusines and the majority of the Venusians (even if this was a Latin colony), did not readily join because of inter-ethnic distrust. At the approach of Vidacilius, however, by force or by the threat of force, they did join the struggle against Rome, and with the help of the Italian army, anti-Roman factions already in the towns probably gained power. If these were supported by people of the lower classes, this is not to be unexpected even in the context of a quest for Roman citizenship. This is because it was the common folk who, not being Roman citizens, stood to lose the most in having to serve Rome in a foreign war, at best receiving only a fraction of the rewards that Roman soldiers received.

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[214]This amphora type is never mentioned by name, but some of the comments made about Apulian oil amphorae are based on the material referring specifically to the Lamboglia 2 amphora.

[215]Grelle 1981, p. 200.

Municipal Government at Canusium

In the course of the Social War, the Italian *socii* were granted Roman citizenship. The various communities were reformed institutionally and became *municipia civium Romanorum*, adopting administrative forms and practices similar to those of the Roman government. Canusium is called a *municipium* in several inscriptions[216] and the people are referred to as *municipes* in others.[217] On a series of statue bases, there is attestation of some *quattuorviri* from the middle of the first century B.C.[218] From the Imperial period, there are other attestations of *quattuorviri*, whether *quattuorviri aediles*, *iure dicundo*, or *quinquennales*.[219] It is possible that the quattuorvirate may have implied that there was little difference in status between the *quattuorviri iure dicundo* and the *quattuorviri aediles* inasmuch as there is some variation in the recording of municiple careers at Canusium.[220] For example, in one case, the individual's career is recorded as *quattuorvir aedilis*, *quattuorvir iure dicundo*, and quaestor,[221] but in another case, the man's career is recorded as

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[216]ERC 36, 44, 10.

[217]ERC Inst. 161 a, b; 51.

[218]*ERC* 4, 7, 8. Laffi (1973, p. 38) shows that the college of *quattuorviri* rather than two duoviri and two aediles was the norm for the new *municipia*.

[219]*ERC* 42, 44, Add.18 (of uncertain date), 39, 40, 45, 51, 48, 46, 43, 47, and 41. Because of the poor condition of some of the inscriptions, their interpretation is tentative.

[220]Grelle 1980, pp. 329-330; Morizio *ad loc.*, *ERC* 39; Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 40.

[221]ERC 40.

quattuorvir iure dicundo, aedilis IIII, and pontifex.[222] Not only are the *honores* recorded in different orders,[223] but the second man was aedile four times.

Among other municipal-period political ranks encountered is the quaestorship, but this was not always mentioned as part of a *quattuorvir*'s career.[224] Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.168) mentions a Servius Oppidius of Canusium as a praetor, but the term is probably used here to refer generically and poetically to the highest municipal official.[225] There are several epigraphic references to the municipal council, whose decrees are made on authority of the *senatus* in the Republican period, but by the Imperial period on the authority of the *ordo decurionum.*[226] The only municipal-period reference to a popular assembly might be that to the *plebs universa* (or *urbana*?).[227]

The municipalization process was probably formalized *lege Cornelia* under the sponsorship of Cinna perhaps in 87 B.C.[228] that stipulated the contents of the municipal constitutions that would govern the newly enfranchised Italians in their towns. This law probably assigned all land

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[222]*ERC* 39.

[223]It is possible, of course, that the political offices were held by these two men in the same order, but that one recorded his career in the reverse order from the other: both styles are encountered in Roman inscriptions.

[224]*ERC* 40, 48 (if this dates to the municipal period) mention the quaestorship, but *ERC* 39, 42, 43 among others do not.

[225]Sartori 1953, pp. 80-81.

[226]*ERC* 4, 7, 8, 36.

[227]*ERC* 44.

[228]Taylor 1960, p. 106, n.15; Pani 1976, p. 131.

except Roman *ager publicus* to the municipal territories so that every Roman citizen had a *domus*, that is, a town of official residence.[229]

The Extent of the *Ager Canusinus*

In the settlements after the Social War, the boundaries of the new citizen *municipia* would have been formalized, although little direct information about them exists. The *ager Canusinus* probably extended eastward[230] from the city to the sea since, as discussed above, Strabo (6.3.9) said that the Canusine emporium was about 90 stades from the coast, and perhaps there was a maritime port at *Bardulos* (Barletta), although this place is not mentioned in the sources except as a *statio* on the Via Litoranea in the itineraries of late antiqity.[231] Cannae was probably a village within the Canusine territory since it is referred to as a *vicus* or κώμη (Livy 22.43.10; 22.49.13; Florus 1.22.15; Eutropius 3.10; and Appian *Hann.* 17), and at the time of the nearby battle, it would not seem to have had any walls that could defend the refugees. Cannae, however, is also referred to as a πόλις and an *urbs* (Polyb. 3.107; Sil. Ital. 8.624) and the *Cannenses* are listed among the other local groups of *Regio II* in Pliny's list (*HN* 3.11.105).

Westward from the city, the Canusine territory may have extended as far as Gaudiano since a stone was recovered there honoring a magistrate of

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[229]Taylor 1960, p. 105.

[230]In this discussion, for the sake of simplicity, the Ofanto River is considered to flow straight westward to the sea, and the sea coast is considered to run north and south. The maps at the end of the thesis give a more exact orientation for the natural features and towns.

[231]Alvisi 1970, pp. 60-61.

the *tribus Oufentina*, the tribe typical of the Canusines, as discussed below.[232] It may be, however, that the stone was brought from the urban centre at some later time,[233] especially likely as the inscription would seem more appropriate in the Canusine forum than on a private estate or small village where few would see it.

Northward from the city, Canusine territory may have extended as far as modern Cerignola since a sepulchral inscripion recording several individuals of the *tribus Oufentina* was found nearby.[234] As well, in this area, according to the *Itinerarium Hierosolimitanum*, there was a *Mutatio Undecimum*, and this was recorded as *Furfane* in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a place name reminiscent of the *gens Furfania* attested in a Canusine inscription.[235] From Cerignola to the sea, the only clues to the Canusine territorial boundaries are the ecclesiastical diocesan boundaries, which, along this extent at least, would seem to have remained little changed from the early medieval period and which may well reflect the territorial boundaries of the ancient towns. In this case, the modern towns of Trinitápoli and Margarita di Savoia are probably situated within the ancient *ager Canusinus*.[236]

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[232]*ERC* 40. Mommsen, *CIL* IX, p. 42; Grelle 1990, p. 180. The inscription reads: *Sex. Dasimio A.f. Ouf(entina) Primo, IIIIvir(o) aed(ili), IIIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo), quaestori, publice d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

[233]Grelle 1990, p. 183, n. 27.

[234]*ERC* 32.

[235]Grelle 1990, p. 181. The inscription is *ERC* 178.

[236]Grelle 1990, p. 180.

The southern boundary of the Canusine territory perhaps included Turenum (Trani), a port town that is noted on the Tabula Peutingeriana, and which became important only in the later Imperial period, perhaps because of the development of the Via Traiana.[237] It was possibly situated in the Canusine territory inasmuch as there is no record of its administrative independence until the Lombard period.[238] If Turenum fell under Canusine administration, the village of Vigiliae (Bisceglie) would most likely also have because it has always been ecclesiastically dependent upon Trani.[239] Finally, the medieval diocesan boundaries suggest that the Canusine administrative limit in antiquity for the line extending westward from the Bisceglie area back to Gaudiano would have included the modern towns of Corato, Minervino Murge, and Montemilone.[240]

As for changes in these boundaries in antiquity, such as after the Hannibalic and Social Wars, we have no direct evidence. Because Canusium was loyal to Rome in the Hannibalic war, it would not have lost territory, but it would not likely have gained territory either. Land confiscated from its more rebellious neighbours, such as Aecae, Arpe, and Herdonia, was added to the Roman *ager publicus* or to Roman colonies, such as that

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[237]Volpe 1985, p. 289; Alvisi 1970, pp. 49-61.

[238]Grelle (1990, p. 181) is much more optimistic about the value of the ecclesiastic evidence than he has convinced the present writer to be. Except for the attestation of a bishop in this or that centre, most of the evidence for the area south of Canusium dates from about the tenth century A.D. and later.

[239]Grelle 1990, pp. 181-182.

[240]Grelle 1990, p. 182.

established at Sipontum in 194 B.C.[241] Although Canusium was rebellious during the Social War, so were most of the towns in the area, and it is difficult to see what advantage the shifting of local boundaries would have brought to the Roman government.

Tribal Assignments

For the new citizens, their tribe became that which was assigned to all the new citizens in their *municipium*. The assignment of tribes to the *municipia* would have been carried out in a manner advantageous to both those making the assignments, Cinna and the Marians, and to the new citizens whose support Cinna intended to retain.[242] In this way, the assignment of a whole ethnic group, such as one of the Oscan-speaking groups of central Italy, to a single tribe would have allowed that large group to carry the vote in its tribe. In Apulia, aside from the Latin colonies, most of the *municipia* were assigned to tribes to which some neighbouring towns were also assigned, and in some cases this is also attributable to ethnic considerations.[243] On the other hand, some individual *municipia* were assigned to small tribes so that they might also have power vis-à-vis other members of the less populous tribe.[244] Indeed, Canusium was the only *municipium* in southern Italy assigned to the *tribus Oufentina*, and this tribe would not seem to have been very populous as relatively few towns in Italy were ascribed to this tribe, a fact that

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[241]Toynbee 1965, vol. II, p. 119.

[242]Taylor 1960, p. 113.

[243]Pani 1976, p. 128.

[244]Taylor 1960, pp. 311-312.

would have favoured the Canusines in tribal voting.[245] The most important observation to be made, however, is that the leaders of the Marian-Cinnan faction assigned the new citizens in blocks to the very tribes of which they themselves were already members.[246] With regard to Canusium, a member of the 89 B.C. *consilium* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, whose name was T. Annius T. f.,[247] was in fact a member of the *tribus Oufentina*. He may have been a relative of T. Annius Rufus, who was consul in 132 B.C. and likely father of Annia, the wife of Cinna.[248] As well, there were Annii Rufi who were important at Canusium in the Imperial period.[249] Although the electoral significance of the tribal assignments was an important consideration at the time of the Social War (Appian *BCiv.* 1.49), the implications of a given pattern of assignments is not always clear today. For example, if the leaders of the Marian-Cinnan faction were sure of the support of their *contribules* before the admission of the new citizens, it would have been better to assign the new citizens, if these were well-disposed to the Marian-Cinnan group, to tribes in which these men had had little influence previously so as to gain the electoral support of a larger number of the thirty five tribes.

For this reason, it has also been argued that because Cinna and the Marians were apprehensive of the return to Italy of Sulla, they may have

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[245]Nine to eleven other towns in Italy are known to have been ascribed to the *Oufentina* tribe (Taylor 1960, pp. 160-164, 273).

[246]Taylor 1960, p.310; Pani 1976, pp. 130-132.

[247]*ILLRP* 515.5.

[248]Grelle 1981, p. 209.

[249]*ERC* 37, 38, 23, 35.

been preparing for a possible need for a *dilectus*, in this case, an exceptional recruitment procedure that was to be carried out by tribe.[250] It would have been helpful for Cinna and the Marians that the people in the area through which Sulla would have to pass on his arrival in Italy were members of the tribes in which they had the greatest influence as patrons. Cinna and Carbo may have begun to carry out a *dilectus* in 85 B.C. when Sulla was about to return to Italy inasmuch as their representatives approached the leaders and people in the new Roman *municipia* in Apulia and elsewhere (Appian *BCiv.* 1.76). A later example of such a levy might be that ordered by Vitellius in A.D. 69 (Tacitus *Hist.* 3.58).

Municipal Urban Development

Municipalization would seem to have been a catalyst for urban development in various towns of Apulia. For example the municipal lex of Tarentum explicitly encourages the preservation of current buildings and the construction of streets and sewers.[251] This boom in municipal construction would seem to have reached its greatest intensity in the Augustan period, probably abetted by the more settled and peaceful conditions that reigned in Italy with Augustus. Later in the first century B.C. at Canusium there is record of some work that was carried out on the Canusine wall,[252] as was happening also at such nearby towns as

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[250]Pani 1988, pp. 25-27.

[251]Gabba 1976, pp. 319-320.

[252]*ERC* 47.

Herdonia, Rubi, and Ausculum.[253] As well, a sacred area with statues dedicated to Mars, Vesta, Vortumnus, and some other deity was set up by the *quattuorviri*,[254] and another *quattuorvir*, possibly of this period, sponsored the construction of some unknown public building.[255] As a product of this same building impetus, a stone amphitheatre was constructed, probably early in the first century A.D., of which we may have a part of the *titulus*.[256]

Roman Roads near Canusium

Early roads and the Via Minucia. An important indication of the increasingly intense integration of Canusium into the Roman world in the late Republican period is the development of an important road that would join it to the capital. At some point, probably early in the first century B.C., a road running between Beneventum and the coast at Barium was developed. A milestone found near Bari testifies to a road that was developed by a Roman praetor, L. Gellius.[257] According to the number on the stone, this Via Gellia must have begun at Canusium. In addition to this road, there was another that is attested to by a probably second-century

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[253]Pani 1988, pp. 31-32.

[254]*ERC* 4, 7, 8.

[255]*ERC* 42.

[256]*ERC* 41; Morizio, *ad loc.* No remains of the amphitheatre can still be seen, but antiquarian descriptions of its ruins exist, as summarized by Jacobone (1925, pp. 79-90).

[257]Moretti 1972, pp. 172-174.

B.C. milestone[258] that bears the name of M. Aemilius M. f. Lepidus, consul, and it extended eastward from Beneventum toward Canusium.[259] Finally, there is literary evidence for a Via Minucia (Cicero *Att.* 9.6.1; Horace *Epist.* 1.18.20) which was probably the same as that Brundisium and Beneventum that Strabo (6.3.7) mentions, as discussed below.[260] Probably, the Via Minucia joined and improved upon the roads that pre-dated it such as the Via Gellia and the Via Aemilia, even if with some change of route in places.[261]

The Roman-period development of this route to Brundisium was probably undertaken specifically to ensure efficient access to some of the towns on the Tavoliere and along the Adriatic coast. There were probably already pre-Roman roads along the route of the later *via publica*, however, that linked one community with the next.[262] We are told, however, that this alternative to the Via Appia saved a day's travel time between Brundisium

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[258]*CIL* IX, 6073; *ILLRP* 451.

[259]Moretti 1972, pp. 178-180; Pani 1990, p. 169.

[260]Moretti 1972, pp. 177-178.

[261]Moretti 1972, pp. 179-180; Pani 1990, pp. 169-170.

[262]Alvisi (1970, p. 104) has distinguished in aerial photographs roads that she argues are ancient that linked Canusium with Cannae, Cannae to Bardulos, and Canusium directly to Bardulos. She also reasons that there must have been a road linking Canusium with Venusia at the time of the Hannibalic War inasmuch as after the Battle of Cannae, escaping Roman cavalry found their way quickly to Venusia with no apparent difficulty (Livy 22.49; Alvisi 1970, p. 73, n. 109). As much as it is plausible that there was a road between Canusium and Venusia, it is hard to see how Roman cavalry would have failed to arrive at a desired destination even without there having been a prepared road to follow. Lamboley (1982, pp. 103-104) argues that the pre-Roman Canusine tombs are somewhat concentrated, both inside and outside of the walls, along the ancient roads that extended from the town in the directions of Cerignola, Lavello, Barletta, and Ruvo.

and Beneventum, although, as traditionally understood, it was rougher than the Via Appia (Strabo 6.3.7).[263] Horace (*Sat.* 1.5), who travelled this road in 37 B.C., mentions that the road was "*peior*" between Rubi and Barium, but he may have meant that this was because of the rain.[264] Because Strabo said that this road was not as suitable for carriages as the Via Appia, and since a troublesome word in Strabo (6.3.7), ἡμιονικρία, has traditionally been emended to read ἡμιονικὴ (ὁδὸς διά, or "mule road," it has been assumed that the condition of this road was very poor indeed. The wording should probably be emended as ἡ Μινουκία διά,[265] and in view of its apparently frequent use, the poor quality of the road should not be over-emphasized. In fact, Horace (*Epist.* 1.18.20) suggests that it was a pointless argument as to which of the two roads, the Via Appia or the Via Minucia was the best to take in heading for Brundisium.

The Via Traiana. Many years later, under the reign of Trajan, the Via Appia was repaired as far as Beneventum, but from there, in A.D. 109, the via Minucia, henceforth known as the Via Traiana, was properly paved

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[263]That this road was at least frequently travelled by those with little time to waste is illustrated by the use made of it buy the generals during the Civil War: it must have been the road travelled by Octavian, who paused at Canusium because of illness (Appian *BCiv.* 5.57). It is also frequently alluded to by Cicero when he mentions Canusium as a point on the route to Brundisium (Cicero *Att.* 8.11C, 8.11D1, 12.A2, 14.1).

[264]He also complains about some of the towns situated along it: of Canusium, he says that the bread was gritty and that the water was poor (Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.91-92).

[265]Pani 1990, p. 169.

and slightly re-routed.[266] Canusium and the other towns along this route would have benefitted from the road development since many travellers would have preferred the freshly paved route to and from Brundisium to the older and slightly longer Via Appia.[267]

Canusine Families of the Municipal Period

The Calvisii and the Imperial estate. While we have little information about political or military events around Canusium in the time of the Civil Wars or in the Augustan period,[268] we gather a number of clues

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[266]Pani 1990, p. 170. There are several late Antique itineraries that are in rough agreement as to the route of the Via Traiana, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Itinerarium Antoninianum*, the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and the Ravenna Cosmography (Alvisi 1970, p. 32). According to the *Itinerarium Antoninianum* (116.3) Canusium is located at 26 *m.p.* from Herdonia and 23 (to be corrected to 24) *m.p.* from Rubi; according to the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (610) (cf. the Ravenna Cosmography 4.35.13) at 26 *m.p.* from Herdonia with a *mutatio undecimum* and at 30 *m.p.* from Rubi with a *mutatio ad quintum decimum*, but this number is lowered by several miles by the editors (see Moretti 1972, p. 177).

Thirty milestones have also been found that pertain to the original Trajanic construction of the road in northern Apulia (*ERC* 246, 247, 248, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274, 275, App. II.5, App. II.6, App. II.7, App. II.8, App. II.9).

[267]Alvisi 1970, p. 21.

[268]During the reign of Augustus, Italy was divided into eleven *regiones*, perhaps in order to facilitate the collection of the *vicesima hereditatum* and the taking of the census (Thomsen 1947, pp. 150-152). While Augustus generally chose natural features such as rivers and mountains to mark the precise regional boundaries, he roughly followed the ethnic configuration of the peninsula in designating the various regions (Thomsen 1947, p. 143). The only instance of the deliberate division of a major ethnic group is that the Samnites are represented in three regions. *Regio II*, as Pliny (*HN* 3.99) relates, included the Hirpini, one of the Samnite subgroups, Calabria, Apulia, and the Sallentini. Canusium was one of the Apulian towns (Pliny *HN* 3.104). By the Augustan period, ethnicity had lost much of the political or military significance it once had, and administratively, each individual town answered directly to the government at Rome. It was perhaps

about which families were important there in this period. For example, the consul C. Calvisius Sabinus was honored as a patron of Canusium in an inscription that palaeographic considerations would date to the pre-Augustan period, so it would plausibly refer to the consul of 39 B.C.[269] It has been argued that he owned land in the area of Gaudiano, where the inscription was found.[270] If this is the case, this may have been an instance of how ties of *clientela* were important for a town: C. Calvisius Sabinus, who may well have been the Caesarian who was praetor in 46 B.C. and consul in 39 B.C., may have used his influence with the triumvirs in 43 B.C. so that Canusium was spared the veterans that neighbouring Venusia was burdened with.[271]

A number of epigraphic attestations of Imperial slaves and freedmen have been recovered from the Gaudiano area, a fact that suggests that there was an Imperial estate there.[272] Dio Cassius (59.18.4) writes that a C. Calvisius Sabinus, consul in A.D. 26 and probable grandson of the Calvisius mentioned above, avoided a trial for *maiestas* by committing

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Augustus' general antiquarianism and belief in the importance of traditional Italian values, as shown, for example, in his restoration of traditional cults and temples (Suetonius *Aug.* 29-31), that led him to adopt the ethnic boundaries for restricted purposes, a division that few outside the well-educated would have been aware of. Much later, however, from the time of Diocletian, when the regional divisions of Italy were given administrative importance, Canusium became the seat of the *Corrector Apuliae et Calabriae* (*ERC* 16, 18, 25).

[269]The inscription is *ERC* 20. See Silvestrini *ad loc.*

[270]Shatzman 1975, p. 317; Grelle 1981, p.223; Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 20.

[271]Grelle 1981, p. 212; Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 20. Keppie (1983) finds no evidence of veteran settlement at Canusium 47-17 B.C.

[272]*ERC* 211-215.

suicide in A.D. 39. From this information, it has been held that the Imperial estate at Gaudiano may have had its origin in an Imperial confiscation of the Calvisius estate.[273]

There are, however, some uncertainties in these inferences. First, that a stone honoring a consul and patron should have been dedicated by the town on the rural estate of the person being honoured, where no one but his household would see it, seems unlikely.[274] It is easier to suppose that the stone was erected at Canusium and only much later was taken with other material to Gaudiano. Second, Tacitus (6.29.2) and Dio Cassius (58.15.4; 58.16.1) believed that if a man accused of treason committed suicide before his trial, his property would remain in possession of his heirs.[275] If their perceptions were correct, an Imperial confiscation of this man's estate on this occasion would have been unlikely.

Because a C. Calvisius Sabinus, consul and patron, is also honoured in an inscription from Spoleto, it may be that the same family had interests there. Spoletium and Canusium respectively may have been where

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[273]Grelle 1981, p. 223; Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 20.

[274]The most important class of rural inscriptions are those marking property boundaries (Keppie 1991, p. 59). Other classes would be those marking the course of the major roads (milestones), burial inscriptions, and rural sanctuaries. There may be examples of important local personages of a town being commemorated on their rural property by an inscription on stone, but these must be very exceptional. I have not found record of any examples *in situ*.

[275]Death and confiscation of property were the penalties for the *crimen laesae majestatis*, but if someone accused of the crime died while the accusation was pending, he retained his civil status unimpaired except if his treasonous action was particularly grave. (*Dig.* 48.4.11 Ulpian). Rogers (1935, pp. 183-184) does not believe that suicide was resorted to for the purpose of saving one's property for one's heirs. He believes, rather, that those accused of treason killed themselves out of "consciousness of guilt."

the Calvisii had their summer and winter pastures.[276] The intervening distance is about 300 km, but transhumant herding over long distances may well have occurred quite regularly.[277] Varro himself (*Rust.* 2.2.9) reports that he had herds that wintered in Apulia and summered in the Reatine hills not far from Spoletium.[278]

Other notable families. Another Roman Senator, Q. Articuleius Regulus, praetor, proconsul and legate of Augustus, is honoured also as patron in a Canusine inscription.[279] His family may also have had pasture land both in the Apennines and on the Apulian plain: in addition to interests in Canusium that the inscription betrays, there was also a *pagus Articulanus* in the area of Beneventum.[280] L. Iunius Silanus, praetor, augur, and defeated consular candidate for 21 B.C., was likely also a patron of Canusium in the Augustan period.[281] While there are no other attestations of Iunii Silani at Canusium, there are a number of later attestations to persons of the *gens Iunia* whose origins may be associated with a Canusine estate of L. Iunius Silanus[282].

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[276]Grelle 1981, p. 223.

[277]Grenier 1905, pp. 307-312; Frayn 1984, pp. 49-50; Gabba and Pasquinucci 1979, pp. 170-182. Small (1986, pp. 185-186) cautions that long-distance transhumance might be more of a late Medieval phenomenon, and that many of the drove roads that Gabba and Pasquinucci have argued to date from Antiquity may in fact be considerably later.

[278]Varro (*Rust.* 2.9.6) also reports even more impressively that sheep were herded "*ab Umbria ultima ad Metapontinos saltus.*"

[279]*ERC* 22.

[280]Chelotti *ad loc.*, *ERC* 22; Grelle 1981, p. 224.

[281]Grelle 1981, p. 224; Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 21.

[282]Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 21.

Some Canusine families of the early principate were wealthy enough to have had members inducted into the Roman Senate. Of the *gens Vellaea*, C. Vellaeus Tutor was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 28 and P. Vellaeus was praetorial *legatus* of Moesia in A.D. 21.[283] That these men originated at Canusium is suggested by the fact that the *gens* is, with one exception, attested only at Canusium where it is encountered four times.[284] As well, a C. Vellaeus Ursio, an *augustalis* noted in a Canusine inscription,[285] is a freedman of a C. Vellaeus, and he has a daughter named Tutorina. It would seem, then, that this man is a freedman of the suffect consul.[286] Two other C. Vellaei are attested at Canusium,[287] and the marble or well-crafted limestone inscriptions mentioning them, at least one of which dates to the early first Century A.D., were found at the necropolis of Lamapopoli, which lay along the road toward Bardulos at the exit the town. Vellaea Lalage,[288] whose name appears inscribed on what was epistyle of her tomb, was a freedwoman of a Sextius Vellaeus. She probably lived also in the first century A.D. since the other instances of Lalage are of this period. This family was very wealthy, if the wealth of its freedmen, is an indication.

Sex. Sotidius Sex. f. Strabo Libuscidianus was *legatus pro praetore* in Galatia at the start of Tiberius' reign, and later he was *curator alvei*

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[283]Camodeca 1982, p. 143; Grelle 1981, p. 224.

[284]*ERC* 62, 201, 202, 204.

[285]*ERC* 62.

[286]Camodeca 1982, p. 143; Chelotti *ad loc.*, *ERC* 62.

[287]*ERC* 201, 204.

[288]*ERC* 202.

Tiberis.[289] The very rare gens Sotidia is attested in *Regio II* only at Canusium,[290] and the *gens Libuscidia* is also peculiar to Canusium, so it is nearly certain that this man had his roots in Canusium. Later in the first century A.D., there is a Sex. Sotidius Primus, an augustalis, encountered at Canusium.[291] He would be a freedman of perhaps the grandson of the *legatus* since his mother was of *gens Flavia*, that of Vespasian.

While not a Senatorial family, although as noted above, related in some way with the *gens Sotidia* that was, the gens Libuscidia, whose name, as noted earlier, is likely of Messapic derivation, is certainly one of the more important families at Canusium already in the Augustan period, and remains so until well into the third century A.D.[292] In Canusium itself, P. Libuscidius Comus, a probable freedman, was an *argentarius* and Augustalis in the later first century A.D., further illustrating the financial standing of this family.[293] Two other inscriptions mentioning Libuscidii,[294] one of which dates from the first century A.D., have been found several kilometers to the west of the city. These might serve to indicate that this family had lands there.[295] As noted above, this family would also seem to have had interests in the wine trade.

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[289]Camodeca 1982, pp. 142-143.

[290]*ERC* 60, 172.

[291]*ERC* 60.

[292]*ERC* 35, 50, 58, 130b, 148, 152, Add. 8.

[293]*ERC* 58.

[294]*ERC* 130, 148.

[295]Silvestrini 1990b, p. 260; Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 130.

Another family that was active in the Augustan period or early first century was the *gens Dasimia*. Dasimius is also a Messapic-derived name, and the numerous epigraphic attestations of this family at Canusium extend from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.[296] To judge from an inscription that probably dates to the Augustan period, L. Dasimius, *quattuorvir quinquennalis*, would seem to have begun some major structure, and his sons, Lucius and Publius, to have completed it.[297] This structure may have been the amphitheatre, as noted above. [298] A Dasmus is also attested at Canusium in the "Lagrasta" hypogeum inscription dating to 67 B.C.[299] Also as noted above, it is possible that this family, like the Libuscidii, were involved in the wine trade.

Herding and Wool Production

Archeological evidence. Most of these very wealthy families probably had control over much property on which they produced exportable surplusses, whether of wine, oil, grain, or wool. We have the fullest evidence, however, for a woolen industry based at Canusium that was well developed by the mid-first century A.D. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for the processing of wool at Canusium in any period is somewhat sparse. The remains of what may have been a first- or second-century A.D. *fullonica* with a set of basins in masonry and lead has been reported, but

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[296] *ERC* 35, 40, 41, 56, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 138.

[297] *ERC* 41.

[298] Morizio *ad loc.*, *ERC* 41.

[299] *ERC* 158.

this find has never been fully published.[300] Numerous loom weights have also been found in the graves of the area,[301] but this is true also for other centres, such as Gravina,[302] for which there is no other reason to suspect a woolen industry. In any case, even a single loom would have required dozens of such weights, so the recovery of numerous weights would be expected almost anywhere and would not necessarily signify an industry supplying an external market.[303]

The epigraphic evidence. The epigraphic evidence of wool-working at Canusium is somewhat more encouraging. Among the material from the Canusine territory are references to a *lanipendia*,[304] who was an Imperial slave, and a *textor*,[305] who was likely freeborn. In addition, a *gregarius* is mentioned in an inscription found at Spinazzola, a modern town near Canosa,[306] and in one from Milan,[307] a *negotiator sagarius ex Apulia* is

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[300]Moreno-Cassano 1981, p. 232 (whose map [Tav. VIII, n. 43] would indicate that it was in the town) refers to Tiné Bertocchi (1973, p. 179); Morel 1976, p. 299 (who says that he was told that it was along the Ofanto).

[301]Moreno-Cassano 1981, p. 232.

[302]Du Plat Taylor 1969, p. 156. Loom weights continue to be found in abundance in the course of the present excavations at Gravina.

[303]Morel (1975, pp. 295-298) is pessimistic about the "*pesi di telaio*" as an indication of wool working. He says that they may have had other uses entirely, and that, in any case, they would have been obselete by some time in the Republican period because of the introduction of a new type of loom that did not require weights. He thus also cautions that the more than 150 weights that had been found at Gravina may mean very little.

[304]*ERC* 170.

[305]*ERC* 196, 196A.

[306]Chelotti 1983, p. 19.

[307]*CIL* V. 5925.

encountered who may well have been from Canusium inasmuch as other evidence suggests that Canusium was the most important wool processing centre in Roman Apulia, the northern part of modern Puglia.[308] As well, an inscription from Thorigny, France mentions a *chlamys Canusina* given as a prestigious gift,[309] and Diocletian's *Edictum de pretiis* sets the price of a βῖρος Καννσεῖνος κάλλιστος σημιωτός at 4000 denarii, a considerable price.[310]

The literary evidence. The literary evidence for a woolen industry at Canusium is especially suggestive. Although, on the one hand, there is no reference to wool production or even to herding specifically at Canusium in Varro and Strabo, who were both writers of the first century B.C., this is nevertheless informative: perhaps this activity was not of great importance there until after their time.[311] If the woolen industry at Canusium was indeed a development of the Augustan period, this could be put into relation with the cessation of circulation of the Lamboglia 2 amphora in this same period that may indicate a reduction in the amount of wine that was produced in northern Apulian and perhaps specifically in the Canusine area. If Canusine farmers had lost much of their Mediterranean market for wine in the last half of the first century B.C., they may have turned to a different product that could prove to be profitable. It would

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[308]Morel 1978, p. 106, n. 48.

[309]*CIL* XIII.3162.2.9; Pflaum 1948.

[310]Frank 1940, pp. 307-421 (1.19.50).

[311]Grelle 1981, p. 219; Pani 1990, p. 172. This fact may also be attributable to the anecdotal style of the writing of Strabo and Varro.

have taken some years for this new industry to become well established and perhaps even longer for it to come to the attention of the ancient authors.[312]

The Imperial-period authors, on the other hand, have much to say on the subject. Aside from references simply to the wool or sheep of Canusium, such as the one in Pliny (*HN* 8.191), the earliest known, mentioning the *velleres fulvi* (tawny fleeces) of Canusium, or that in Juvenal (6.150) mentioning *pastores et ovem Canusinam*, there are a number that allude to the actual production of textiles, whether as cloth or as completed clothing. Pliny (*HN* 8.190) mentions Canusium in connection with Apulian *paenulae* (a type of cloak); Martial (14.127, 129), refering to kinds of cloth, mentions *Canusinae fuscae* (dark Canusine cloths) and *Canusinae rufae* (red Canusine cloths), and also writes of a *canusinatus Surus* (9.22; A Syrian dressed in Canusine cloth); Suetonius (*Nero* 30.8) describes *canusinati muliones* (muleteers dressed in Canusine cloth); Athenaeus (3.97e) refers to a καλὸς φαινόλης καινεῖνος (a fine Canusine cloak); and the Scriptores Historiae Augustae (*Carinus* 20.6) mention *birri canusini* (Canusine cloaks). It would seem from the context of these

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[312]One might also speculate that some land that had been devoted to grain production was converted to pasture when grain production for export to Rome became less profitable after the annexation of Egypt and the commencement of regular shipments of grain from there. Unfortunately, not enough is known about the precise sources of the grain that fed Rome. Supplying the capital was always a problem, and grain arrived from many places around the Mediterranean even in the Principate, including, for example, Moesia (*CIL* XIV.3608), so the profitability of exporting grain to Rome may never have decreased. On the other hand, during the Principate, Africa and Egypt do grow in importance as grain sources while Sardinia and Sicily would seem to have become fairly insignificant in this regard. They did become important sources again in the later Empire, a time when Canusine exportation of grain is also well documented. On this issue, see Rickman 1980, especially pp. 263-264.

references that the woolen products of Canusium included textiles suitable for the clothing of slaves and soldiers, as well as textiles that only the wealthy could have afforded.[313] In the later empire, there were *gynaecaea* at Canusium and Venusia that presumably supplied the Imperial service with textiles (*Not.Dign.occ.* 11.52). In addition to the production of cloth, there may have been a dyeing operation at Canusium since Pliny (*HN* 35:45) mentions a *purpurissimum Canusinum vilissimum*.

While some of these references to wool and textile production at Canusium might be dismissed as literary τόποι, the more prosaic ones are sufficient in number and significance to argue convincingly for such an industry. This opinion is given credibility when the citations referring to Canusium are compared with those that refer to Tarentum. Of two dozen technical and more purely literary texts referring to Roman-period wool production at Tarentum, none refer to the further production of cloth or clothing.[314] As well, the territory of Tarentum has yielded no epigraphic or archaeological evidence at all of a woolen industry, with the exception of mention of a *sarcinator* (a clothing mender) and two *servi gregarii*.[315]

The sparsity of archaeological evidence of a woolen industry at Canusium does not mean that the abundant literary evidence should be discounted: one would expect *prima facie* that the more important a centre is with respect to a given industry, the more likely ancient authors would have been to mention that centre in connection with the industry. No other Italian town is mentioned as frequently as Canusium in connection

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[313]Acri 1982-83; Pani 1990, p. 172.

[314]Morel 1978, p. 101.

[315]Morel 1978, p. 107, n. 49.

with wool and woolen cloth, so one might suppose that if any town had an important woolen industry, Canusium did. Unfortunately, however, our sources are not completely reliable: ironically, there is no literary evidence that there was such an industry at Pompeii, yet the incomparable state of preservation of that ancient city reveals a highly articulated operation of considerable local importance that may also have supplied a large external market.[316]

Transhumant pastoralism and Canusium

Geographical considerations. That there may well have been a woolen industry at Canusium is supported in addition by geographical considerations. Canusium was the only major centre near the bank of the lower course of the largest river in Apulia. And if it is difficult to show that it was situated near an important ford, we do know that there was such a ford in the Canusine territory near Cannae (Livy 22.45.1-5). In any case, when the nearby bridge was constructed at least as early as the reign of Trajan, other routes leading across the Aufidus would have altered in order to take advantage of the bridge in preference to the fords even many kilometers from the bridge. From the early second century A.D., when it was constructed, the bridge near Canusium remained the only bridge facilitating the passage across the Aufidus to the more southern pastures of the Murge plateau and the coastal plain farther to the east, and probably the only convenient point of crossing of any kind in the

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[316]The importance of the woolen industry at Pompeii was argued by Moeller (1976). Jongman (1988), however, argues against Moeller's interpretation of the Pompeian archaeological evidence, and he argues, quite persuasively that the industry at Pompeii supplied only local needs.

winter and spring when the river increases in its volume and in the force of its current.[317]

That there was a regular movement of sheep from the summer pastures in the hills of central Italy,[318] through the Canusine territory, and eventually to winter pastures on the Murge Plateau in antiquity is unfortunately somewhat more difficult to prove. Certainly, if this occurred, it would have been very advantageous for Canusium: the sheep would have been passing northward and conveniently near to the city in the late spring. It is easy to imagine that it was here that they received their annual shearing, an activity generally carried out in May and June (Pliny *HN* 18.257; Columella *Rust.* 11.2.44; Palladius 7.6). So much the better as well if the wool need not have been transported far after the shearing for processing and marketing, activities for which Canusium's location near both the river and the sea would have been favourable. May was also the month in which cheese-making occurred (Varro *Rust.* 2.11.4; Palladius 6.9), and a large town such as Canusium would have represented a good market, especially convenient if the sheep were being sheared at the same place. Some transhumant herdsmen who were studied this century and who moved annually between Puglia and the Marche were in Puglia from February to April, and then began to move north again by May.[319]

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[317]Alvisi 1970, pp. 125-126. Even in more modern times, sheep being herded across the Ofanto used primarily the same Canosan bridge (Gabba and Pasquinucci 1979, p. 180).

[318]The summer pastures mentioned in the sources include the Amiternum area (Cicero *Clu.* 161), Samnium (Varro *Rust.* 2.1.16 -- within this area, the Campanian Apennines would provide the summer pasture closest to the *ager Canusinus*), the Reatine hills (Varro *Rust.* 2.2.9), and the Sabine hills (Varro *Rust.* 2.2.9; 3.17.9).

[319]Sprengel 1975, p. 295, fig. 10.

It has been argued that many of the drove roads that existed until recently in southern Italy originated in the Roman period,[320] and some of these do indeed lead across the Ofanto river by way of the bridge at Canusium, allowing the Murge to be grazed by sheep arriving from the Tavoliere and, ultimately from the Abruzzi and from the Appennines to the west of the Tavoliere.[321] While a number of ancient literary references are clear on the existence of transhumant pastoralism (e.g. Varro *Rust.* 2.1.17, 2.2.10, and 3.17.9), the continuity of the practice with its more modern version is not easily substantiated: archival evidence from the Norman and Angevin period indicates that the extent of transhumance and the network of drove roads were greatly expanded in the fifteenth century, so it is difficult to tell whether any particular route is of ancient origin.[322] As well, as discussed above, a considerable portion of the Canusine territory and much of the Tavoliere in general accommodated farms of moderate size that were occupied throughout much of the Roman period. In addition, the same may be suspected even of the Murge if the evidence of a dense pattern of Roman-period settlement observed in northeastern Lucania can be generalized.[323] While it is doubtful that northern Apulia was abandoned to pastoralism, it must be emphasized that there is also much land around Canosa, in the Tavoliere and in the northeastern Lucanian hills on which evidence of the existence of ancient estates or small farms

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[320]Gabba and Pasquinucci 1979, pp. 170-182.

[321]See the maps reproduced in Gabba and Pasquinucci (1979, plates 1, 38, 42).

[322]Small 1986, pp. 185-186.

[323]Small 1986, pp. 190-191; Vinson 1979, pp. 651-660; Roberto, Plambeck and Small 1985, pp. 136-145.

has not yet been found, and use of this land for sheep pasture is quite possible.[324] Even if land was normally devoted to crops, sheep were often driven onto the fields (Columella 1.2.5), presumably after the harvest to graze the weeds in the stubble and fertilize the fields by leaving manure.[325]

Epigraphic evidence. Some inscriptions might be taken as supporting the importance of transhumant pastoralism in the Canusine territory. For example, there is a dedication by a pair of late Republican *quattuorviri* to Vortumnus, a deity whose cult originated in Etruria or, more likely, the Umbro-Sabellic region, and who would seem to have had some association with pastoral activity.[326] As well, in the second century A.D., a couple, probably freedmen of the *gens* Arruntia, marked their son's burial with an inscription,[327] something they had done previously at Sulmo for another son.[328] Since this *gens* is most solidly attested in the Umbro-sabellic region, it is possible that this family moved to Canusium for economic reasons connected with transhumant pastoralism.[329] As late as the earlier

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[324]Small (1986, pp. 190-191) points out that such apparently unoccupied land may also have been devoted to forestry and pig raising. It should also be noted that peasant farmers could have occupied much land without leaving many traces inasmuch as their houses would have been made of perishable materials and they would have had only a moderate amount of simple pottery (see Volpe 1990 p. 110).

[325]See also Spurr 1986, pp. 25-26. Frayn (1984, pp. 49-50) also makes the point that sheep and arable agriculture can coexist.

[326]Morizio *ad loc.*, *ERC* 8; Grelle 1981, pp. 219-220; Letta and D'Amato 1975, pp. 103-106.

[327]*ERC* 78.

[328]*CIL* IX.3113.

[329]Morizio *ad loc.*, *ERC* 78; Grelle 1981, p. 220. There is, of course, no way to know precisely what brought this family to Canusium.

third century A.D., there is still evidence of links, perhaps of an economic nature, between Canusium and central Italy. For example, a woman of the senatorial class, Nummia Varia, dedicated a stone to the memory of her freedwoman Aura,[330] and it is probable that this family also had interests in the Abruzzi since two inscriptions in honour of Nummia have been found there.[331] The family was perhaps having sheep moved between these two areas where they may have had estates.[332] It would be going well beyond the evidence, however, to argue, as has been done,[333] that the mere appearance of gentilicial names[334] in the Canusine epigraphic corpus that are well attested in the Hirpinian or Marsic areas to the north and west of Canusium signal interregional migration that occurred primarily because of transhumant pastoralism.

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[330] *ERC* 165.

[331] *CIL* IX.3429, 3436.

[332] Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 165; Grelle 1981, p. 220.

[333] See, for example, the commentary associated with the inscriptions cited in the next note.

[334] Such names as Tettidia (*ERC* 39), Avidiacca (*ERC* 55), Allia (*ERC* 71), Avillia (*ERC* 85), and Lucilia (*ERC* 85), Hostilia (*ERC* 123), and Vavidia (*ERC* 134).

CHAPTER FOUR

CANUSIUM AS A ROMAN COLONY

Herodes Atticus as Colonial *Deductor*

Epigraphic evidence of colonial status. At some point in the second century A.D., under circumstances that are quite unclear, Canusium underwent a change in status from *municipium* to *colonia*. This change is reflected in a small number of inscriptions, which indicate that the *deductio* had taken place by the early third century A.D. In one inscription,[335] the full name of the colony is recorded: Colonia Aurelia Augusta Pia Canusium. The city is also referred to as a colony in two other inscriptions;[336] and in the *album decurionum*[337] of A.D. 223, magistracies, such as the duovirate and the aedileship, are present that are proper to a colony rather than to a *municipium*.[338]

Herodes' connections with Canusium. The only literary evidence for Canusium's change in status is a passage in Philostratus (*VS* 2.1.5 [551])

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[335] *ERC* 52.

[336] *ERC* 27, 38.

[337] *ERC* 35. Please refer to the Appendix in the present paper for a longer discussion of the *album Canusinum*.

[338] Some *municipia* also have duoviri and aediles as senior magistrates, but these are few and seem to be designations only from the time of Caesar (Laffi 1973, p. 52).

in which it is said that Herodes Atticus, the famous orator, colonized (ᾤκισε) Canusium and gave it a water supply. Why Herodes Atticus should have taken so active an interest in Canusium is open to speculation. It is possible that Herodes' father had purchased property in the area because, as a senator during the reign of Trajan, he had to have a third of his wealth invested in Italian property.[339] More compelling, however, is the possibility that Herodes organized the *deductio* of Canusium because his wife's family owned land in the area, and Herodes, very wealthy and influential in his own right, was sought out by the Canusines as patron on the strength of this tie, and was assigned to the *deductio* by the emperor.[340] Herodes' wife from about 140 A.D. was Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla, hence of the *gens Annia*, a *gens* commonly encountered in Apulian epigraphy. The family was important at Canusium where, according to inscriptions,[341] in the second and third centuries A.D. they were patrons, magistrates, and augustales. Presumably, then, the Annii owned considerable property about Canusium. How closely Regilla, Herodes' wife, was related to the Annii at Canusium cannot be established with certainty, but at Aecae, a town not far from Canusium, there was a L.

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[339]Graindor 1930, p. 68. Graindor goes on to reject this, however, because he does not believe it likely that a senator would invest in land noted for its aridity, a characteristic of the area that both Horace (*Sat.* 1.5.91) and Philostratus himself (*VS* 2.1.5) emphasize. But we know that even if the area was dry by comparison to Campania or Etruria, it was still productive and profitable, and, as discussed above, other senatorial families are believed to have had possessions in the *ager Canusinus*.

[340]Graindor 1930, p. 69; Ameling 1983, p. 88.

[341]*ERC* 18, 23, 35, 37, 38, 53.

Mummius Niger Q. Valerius Vegetus Severinus Caucidius Tertullus.[342] That this man and Regilla share their final *nomen* and their *cognomen*, would suggest that there is some fairly close relation between them, an indication that Regilla at least had Apulian connections.[343]

Herodes and Oricum. Herodes perhaps took an interest in Canusium because he himself had economic interests there independently of his wife: he was an orator and teacher, but also a wealthy senator with extensive lands and consequent business interests (Philostratus *VS* 2.1.5 [547-549]). In the same sentence in which Philostratus mentions the foundation of the Canusine colony, he says that Herodes also established Oricum on the coast of Epirus as a colony inasmuch as it was in a bad way by then (ὑποδεδωκὸς ἦρη). Although the passage is really a part of a list of benefactions at the hands of Herodes and gives few chronological clues, it is possible that there was some connection between these two actions. One might hypothesize that he wished to promote and use Canusium as a processing or marketing centre for wool that he may have produced on lands in Epirus inasmuch as sheep were raised in Epirus (Varro *Rust.* 2.1.2-3; 2.2.20; Plutarch *Pyrrh.* 5)[344] and, as argued above, Canusium did have a woolen

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[342]*CIL* IX.948. This inscription is a dedication to *Iuppiter Dolichenus Exsuperantissimus*, and there is an inscription reminiscent of it in the Canusine epigraphic corpus (*ERC* 2). It would be going too far, however, to suppose that this coincidence shows that the dedicant from Aecae was associated with the one at Canusium.

[343]Morizio *ad loc.*, *ERC* 2.

[344]Hammond (1967, pp. 126-127), in describing the area around the site of ancient Oricum as it was in the 1930s, says that in one village the people owned 60,000 sheep and goats. These were pastured in the Pindus hills in summer, and in winter in the delta of the nearby river. Surplusses of milk and cheese were sold in Valona, the largest town in the area. Campbell (1964, pp. 19-26) describes the life-style of a group of semi-nomadic shepherds of Epirus who, again, pastured sheep in

industry. As well, it would have been easier to send wool from Epirus across the Adriatic to Canusium[345] than to any larger centre in the Balkan peninsula because of the rough terrain by land and the longer distance, even to Corinth, by sea.

While at the present state of the evidence, this hypothesis cannot be proven, it is possible to dispose of an objection that a presently held assumption would lead to, namely that the two colonial foundations must have occurred about thirty years apart. The colonial foundation of Oricum most likely occurred about A.D. 175 on the basis of some comments of Philostratus (*VS* 2.1 [560-562]).[346] He describes how Herodes railed at Marcus Aurelius when he was being tried for treason at Sirmium in Pannonia, probably in early A.D. 175.[347] The orator then left Sirmium and probably stayed at Oricum on his way to Athens where, in A.D. 176, he later received a letter from the emperor.[348] Philostratus, on the basis of this letter, argues that Herodes, although he stayed at Oricum for a long

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the hills of the Pindus from May to November, and on the coastal plain during the rest of the year. In the late spring, before moving far into the hills, when the lambs had been weaned, the shepherds sold surplus milk to cheese merchants, expressly moving their sheep close to the cheese-making stations.

[345]Although Hydruntum (Otranto) was directly across the sea and less than 100 km away, if wool was transported for processing or marketing in Italy, the maritime port of Canusium would have been the destination of choice, although it was considerably farther from Oricum. In any case it was generally preferable to transport bulky goods even a rather long distance by sea than almost any distance by land (see, for example, Greene 1986, pp. 39-40).

[346]It could have occurred no later than A.D. 177, the year of Herodes' death.

[347]On the date of this trial, see Graindor 1930, p. 125, n. 3.

[348]This sequence is proposed by Graindor 1930, pp. 125-127.

time and colonized (ἔκτισε) the city, was never exiled to the place by Marcus Aurelius as others had contended. There is no direct evidence that Herodes had estates in the area about Oricum, but on his way to Athens, he may well have stayed at one of his own estates, since this was what a wealthy traveller preferred to do, and this is somewhat more likely inasmuch as Oricum was not on the most direct route between Sirmium and Athens.[349]

The *deductio* of the Canusine colony, on the other hand, has generally been considered to have occurred under the reign of Antoninus Pius, perhaps around the time that Herodes was consul in A.D. 143.[350] Because the Canusine colony was designated Aurelia Augusta Pia, Mommsen thought that it was a colony of Antoninus Pius, not because of the "Pia," but because of the reference to the *gens* Aurelia.[351] It is not clear why he would have thought this because, although Antonius Pius' name before his adoption by Hadrian was T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus, it was officially T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius as emperor. The only other colony known that may have been founded under Antoninus Pius is an Aelian colony.[352] In any case, it seems most likely that Canusium became

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[349]While Herodes may not have been in exile after the Trial at Sirmium, he could not have been in communication with the emperor inasmuch as Herodes complained to the emperor by letter of not receiving letters from the emperor (Philostratus VS 2.1 [562]). If this is so, it is difficult to see how he could have carried out an official *deductio*, and his refoundation of Oricum may well have been a purely personal initiative not entailing any change in legal status.

[350]Graindor 1930, pp. 66-69.

[351]*CIL* IX, p. 35.

[352]This is Lares in Africa: Colonia Aelia Augusta Lares (*CIL* VIII.1779). It is also possible that this was a Hadrianic foundation. See the lists of colonial foundations in E. Korneman's article,

a colony under Marcus Aurelius,[353] whose many colonies were designated Aurelia, Aelia Aurelia, or Aurelia Antoniniana.[354]

There is record of a statue base on which was preserved the full name of the colony (noted above).[355] Presumably, then, Canusium was already a colony by the time that the statue was erected, probably while the subject of the dedication was still alive. This man's name has been reconstructed as [L.? A]elius Aug(usti) lib. [Aur]elius Apolaustus, and he was, according to the inscription, a renowned actor (*pantomimus*) and a magistrate among the *Augustales*.[356] He was perhaps the Apolaustus whose talents are praised in a letter from L. Verus to Fronto written in A.D. 161,[357] and in the Scriptores Historiae Augustae (*Comm.* 7.2) where his death in A.D. 189 is noted.[358] If his *praenomen* was indeed Lucius, he may have

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"*Coloniae*" in *RE*, coll. 511-588.

[353]Marcus Aurelius was born M. Annius Verus, but after his adoption by Antoninus Pius, became M. Aelius Aurelius Verus, and his name changed again at his accession to M. Aurelius Antoninus.

[354]Korneman, *RE*, coll. 511-588. While there are numerous Aurelian colonies attributable to Marcus Aurelius, there are others attributable to the Severan emperors: the only known colony designated both Aurelia and Pia, aside from Canusium, was Sidon, which was officially named Colonia Aurelia Pia Metropolis Sidon. This foundation occurred under Elagabalus, emperor until A.D. 222.

[355]Unfortunately, this statue base was lost already by the later nineteenth century (Chelotti *ad loc.*, *ERC* 52).

[356]The inscription (*ERC* 52) reads "[pa]*ntomimo*, [*Aug*]*ustalium q*(*uin*)*q*(*uennali*), [*hier*]*onice temporis sui primo*."

[357]C.R. Haines, in his Loeb Classical Library edition of Fronto's correspondence (vol. 2, pp. 304, 306).

[358]This Apolaustus is not to be confused with, but was probably named after, L. Aurelius Augg. lib. Apolaustus Memphius, also a famous actor (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I,II, III*, 2nd ed., edited by E. Groag and A. Stein, A, n. 148, p. 23), who was brought back from the East by Verus returning from the Parthian War (S.H.A. *Ver.* 8.10) and

been manumitted by Verus (L. Aurelius Verus or L. Ceionius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Antoninus) after he became co-emperor in A.D. 161. It has been proposed that the statue at Canusium was dedicated along with a statue to Marcus Aurelius[359] and presumably another to Verus when the emperors were in Canusium in A.D. 162: Verus was on his way to the East to fight the Parthians, but becoming ill, he stayed at Canusium, and Marcus visited him there (S.H.A. *Ver.* 6.7; *Marc.* 8.11).[360] If this were so, it is argued, Canusium must indeed have already been a colony by A.D. 162 and most likely under Antoninus Pius given that Marcus and Verus had only become emperors the year before. In fact, however, the inscription on the base of the statue to Marcus Aurelius dates clearly to A.D. 161,[361] probably commemorating his accession rather than a chance visit to the city, and as such bearing no relation to the actor's statue. The dedication to Apolaustus, then, could be from a time considerably later than A.D. 162,

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still alive in A.D. 199 (*CIL* XIV.4254). On this topic, see Chelotti *ad loc.*, *ERC* 52.

[359]*ERC* 13. The edited text of the inscription is as follows:

[I]mp(eratori) Caesa
ri divi Anto
[n]ini filio divi
[H]adriani nepo(ti)
[di]vi traian(i) Part(hici)
[pro]n(epoti) divi Nervae abn(epoti)
[M](arco) Aurelio Antonino
[Au]g(usto), pontif(ici) max(imo),
[t]rib(unicia) pot(estate) XV, co(n)s(uli) III,
publ(ice) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).

[360]Chelotti *ad loc.*, *ERC* 52.

[361]That is, the year of Marcus' fifteenth year of *tribunicia potestas* and third consulate, as noted in the inscription.

perhaps on the occasion of a performance by the actor at Canusium when he was also made, most likely *honoris causa*,[362] *Augustalium quinquennalis*.

In sum, if this Apolaustus is the man mentioned in the literary sources noted above, and if, as proposed, the Canusine colony was a foundation of Marcus Aurelius, then the *deductio* would have occurred between the accession of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 161 and the death of Apolaustus in A.D. 189, but, of course, Marcus himself died in A.D. 180. If, as Philostratus says, the colony was founded by Herodes Atticus, he must have done so sometime before he went to Sirmium for the trial before the emperor in A.D. 175 inasmuch as a trip to Italy is not likely to have occurred between this date and his death in A.D. 177. Thus, this time frame does not exclude the coordinated development (in whatever form) of Canusium and Oricum by Herodes Atticus.[363] If, then, Herodes was the *deductor* of the colony, the event most probably occurred between A.D. 161 and 175.

The Significance the *Deductio*

What precisely the *deductio* entailed for Canusium is as unclear as its chronology. At its simplest, the colonization may simply have been a

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[362]If the same man, he was similarly celebrated at Capua: Aurelius Apolaustus Augustalis Capuae Maximus (CIL X.3716).

[363]It is always possible, however, that the aqueduct constructed by Herodes at Canusium was confused by Philostratus with the foundation of the colony, which may have been organized by some unknown *deductor* on some other occasion. The ancient biographer was writing about Herodes some 50 to 60 years after the death of Herodes (W.C. Wright in his Loeb Classical Library edition of Philostratus and Eunapius, p. xii), so errors in detail would not be surprising. Even if this were so, the possibility of private economic interests at Canusium is not discounted.

symbolic gesture to increase the prestige of the city, that is, a sign of Imperial favour. It has been argued that from the time of Augustus, the designation of *colonia* became more prestigious than that of *municipium*, partly because his 28 veteran colonies were flourishing, and partly because the magistrates and decurions of the colonies did not have to go to Rome to cast their votes for the Roman consuls, but could vote at home (Suetonius *Aug.* 46).[364] We know, however, that in the second century A.D. there were many Italian *municipia* that were more prosperous than some colonies, and certainly by the Antonine period, the the Roman consuls were no longer chosen by popular election. As well, not only a change of designation occurred, but from the *album decurionum* of A.D. 223,[365] it is clear that there were changes in at least the names of the magistrates: the *quattuorviri* of the municipal government have given way to the separate *duoviri* and *aediles* usually associated with colonial government.[366]

One strongly suggestive piece of evidence that there was more to Canusium's colonization than a change in name is the mention in the *Liber Coloniarum* of centuriation in the *ager Canusinus*. According to this source (1.210.8-9,L; 2.260.25-27,L; 2.261.1-2,L), the *ager Canusinus* was

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[364]Salmon 1982, p. 148.

[365]*ERC*, 35. The reader is invited to refer to the Appendix: the *album* has much to say about the structure of the colonial period aristocracy.

[366]Laffi (1973, p. 52) says, however, that even in some late-Republican *municipia* there is record of *quattuorviri*. This, he argues, is because Caesar started designating duoviri as the officers of jurisdiction in *municipia* and colonies, probably from a concern for administrative efficiency.

divided into units of 200 *iugera*.[367] Until recently, little has been made of this reference to centuriation around Canusium given that the *Liber Coloniarum* has been considered an unreliable source, and there is no reason to suppose that Canusium should have had to accept Gracchan colonists, to whom the existence of centuriated field systems around the towns of the Tavoliere should be referred. As well, there is no evidence that Canusium ever accommodated groups of veterans in any period.[368] In another passage of the *Liber Coloniarum* (2.261.5-8,L), however, there is record of the centuriation of the territory of Aeclanum, which was assigned *lege qua et ager Canusinus*, and this would imply that at some point a special law had been passed for the division of the territory of Canusium. It is possible that the refoundation of Canusium as a colony entailed, among other changes, land redistribution,[369] and that land was apportioned not to immigrants to the city, but was done *manentibus veteribus incolis*.[370]

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[367]Bradford (1949, p. 67) said that he had seen centuriated field systems "in the neighbourhood of Canosa," but this has not been confirmed by anyone else, although Grelle (1981, p. 218) says that signs of it are still visible immediately south of the city.

[368]Keppie 1983 and 1984.

[369]Grelle 1981, p. 218.

[370]Cassano and Volpe (1985, pp. 147-148) say that this procedure, whereby the colonization entailed no or only a few new residents, is described in the *Constitutio Limitum* of the Traianic period and occurred as early as the late Republican period. This would seem to have occurred at Formiae (where no new coloni were settled) and at Aeclanum (where there was perhaps and integration of freedmen).

Reasons for the Deductio:

A Critique of Grelle's Proposal

There are few clues as to why such a process might have been undertaken at Canusium. F. Grelle has argued that there was an economic and social crisis of some kind in the second century at Canusium that was the result of an imbalance between agricultural and pastoral interests there.[371] Indeed, there is epigraphic evidence that might indicate that there were shortfalls in the production of grain, financial disarray in the city administration, and some poverty among the people. For example, there is a dedication, which probably dates to the early second century A.D., to a *quattuorvir* from the people of Canusium *quod eos annona [frumentaria empta adiuvit]*.[372] As well, an inscription from Beneventum mentions that a C. Oclatius Modestus was appointed as *curator kalendarii* at Canusium by Trajan and that this posting was extended under Hadrian.[373] A *curator kalendarii* exercised control over the *kalendarium* of a town, which was the register of outstanding loans at interest, but the position was somewhat analogous to that of *curator rei publicae* in that he also exercised a more general supervision over the financial affairs of a town.[374] Another inscription,[375] palaeographically consistent with the

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[371]Grelle 1981, pp. 215-218. He says that the *deductio* was to strengthen the small farmers' claims on the land against the pastoral interest, ratify the freedom of the Imperial latifundium from local control, and emphasize the separation of the pastoral and agricultural industries. What, in more concrete terms, these points might imply is not at all clear in Grelle's discussion.

[372]*ERC* 44.

[373]*ERC* App. I.6.

[374]Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* App. I.6.

possibility of a second century A.D. dating, records the establishment of a private alimentary scheme, the existence of which has been commonly, but probably wrongly (see below), interpreted as an indication of economic problems.[376]

While *prima facie* these inscriptions might seem to signal serious problems at Canusium in the course of the second century A.D., they are all, when considered further, somewhat ambiguous. The reference to the *annona frumentaria* might signal not some structural problem associated with land use, but simply a bad harvest in the area in one year that necessited an extra large purchase of non-local grain. Perhaps there was no problem at all: most larger Italian cities had a regular grain distribution scheme, and the *quattuorvir* may simply have purchased grain *pecunia sua* as a benefaction associated with his holding of office.[377] As well, the presence of a *curator kalendarii* in the city does not necessarily signal financial problems, but may be a sign of the increasing complexity of the municipal finances, and the curator might be seen not so much as an official who intervened to solve serious problems, as one who advised the city on details of management, perhaps partly in the wake of the legal changes that made it easier for people to will money and property to the towns.[378] Finally, an alimentary scheme is not clearly

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[375]*ERC* 51.

[376]Mazza 1973, pp. 176-184 (non vidi).

[377]In an inscription (*CIL* X, 15497 = *ILS* 5553) from Africa, a decurion is designated *duovir quinquennalis* after he had furnished "[*plus quam su*]*fficientem frumenti copiam propriis sumptibus popolaribus.*"

[378]Dyson 1992, pp. 164, 224-225.

symptomatic of serious local poverty in that there were no doubt always poor children in even the wealthiest centres, and indeed if it testifies to the existence of poverty, it equally well testifies to the existence of private local wealth. In any case, the purpose of the alimentary schemes was probably not so much to alleviate poverty as to encourage population increase in Italy.[379] In sum, there is no unambiguous epigraphic evidence of a serious crisis at Canusium in the second century A.D.

Urban Development in the Second Century A.D.

The aqueduct and bath complexes. Aside from institutional changes and possible land redistribution, there is also evidence of a fairly intense building phase in the second century A.D. that should probably be seen as an aspect of the colonization process. The first such development would have been the aqueduct that Philostratus (*VS* 2.1 [551]) says was financed by Herodes Atticus. Herodes had earlier done the same at Alexandria Troas when he was *corrector* in Asia (Philostratus *VS* 2.1 [548]). Its precise source, length and route are not known with certainty, but some remains in and near the south part of the town could be seen earlier in this century,[380] and recently some remains of the aqueduct have been found further from the town running southwestward towards the area of Montemilone.[381] The numerous *fistulae plumbeae* found

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[379]Millar 1986, p. 300. Duncan-Jones (1982, pp. 294-303) also argues that the purpose of the alimentary schemes was indeed to encourage fertility in Italy. In effect, it was like a regular family allowance payment to poorer families.

[380]Jacobone 1925 p. 84.

[381]Corrente 1990, pp. 330-332 and tab. CLVI.

at Canusium would perhaps be from piping systems that depended on this aqueduct.[382] An aqueduct would have improved the water supply of Canusium, whether the area was especially arid (as Philostratus insists) or not, and indeed there are remains of two, or perhaps three bath complexes that probably date from no earlier than this period. In Via Imbriani, there is a complex of bath remains known as the Terme Lomuscio, and nearby, the remains of what is known and the Terme Ferrara are partly visible. Finally, there was a mysterious construction in what was known as Via delle Terme, and hence called the Terme Rella, but which may not have been a bath.[383]

The Temple of Giove Toro. Perhaps in the same period in which the building of the aqueduct and bath complexes occurred, a major reorganization of the area that probably became the forum of the colony took place. The temple complex that is now referred to as Giove Toro was constructed, likely as the local *capitolium*. In the municipal period, the area was devoted to residential occupation, one of the buildings there being a well-appointed *domus* of which some rooms have been excavated that had mosaic floors and frescoed walls. At some point the *domus*, as well as the humbler habitations were abandoned, and the area was then developed for public use.[384]

The temple that was built here was erected on a rectangular platform oriented roughly east-west, and the entrance was on the east side. It was

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[382] *ERC* Instr. 161-165.

[383] This construction is no longer to be seen. There are, however, photographs in Jacobone (1925, fig. IX, IX bis). See also Morizio (1990, pp. 193-194).

[384] Cassano, Laganara Fabiano, and Volpe 1985, pp. 501-502.

flanked on the north and south by two matching porticos with exhedrae on their west ends. Little of the architectural decoration remains, but what there is would suggest that the temple was decorated according to the Corinthian order, was peripteral with six columns on the short sides and ten on the long, with a set of steps in front. It has been assumed that the temple dates to the period of the *deductio* of the colony,[385] but while it is surely an Imperial-period construction given its partial superposition over the *domus*, some of whose decorations follow the schemes of the Fourth Pompeian Style, the few decorative elements that remain have not yet been carefully compared to those of more easily datable structures elsewhere.[386] At any rate, it would seem to have stood without undergoing major changes until the end of the fourth century. The deity to whom the temple was dedicated was probably Jupiter since a cult statue, most likely representing Jupiter, and standing almost two metres tall was found at the temple site in 1903.[387]

Sepulchral architecture. At Canusium there are several surviving examples of Roman above-ground sepulchral architecture, a type of architecture that is most unusual in Apulia. Some of these also date to the construction impetus that resulted in the Giove Toro temple and the aqueduct. The best studied of these is the one known as the Mausoleo

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[385]Cassano, Laganara Fabiano, and Volpe 1985, p. 502.

[386]Hadrian was responsible for the construction or the completion of several *capitolia* (e.g. Athen and Jerusalem), and it is possible that this temple could have been ordered by Hadrian or inspired by his series of projects. This must remain pure speculation at the present state of the evidence.

[387]Quagliati 1906, pp. 325, 327-328, fig. 6.

Bagnoli.[388] It, among others, was situated along the side of the Via Traiana as it entered Canusium from the west.[389] The tomb is a two-story structure faced in brick that is very reminiscent of the tomb of Annia Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, on the Via Appia near Rome, as well as others mainly in Latium. An inscription was found inside the structure that could be construed to have recorded a dedication to someone of the *gens Mummia*, and so perhaps someone related to the wife of Herodes Atticus, but this is highly tenuous.[390] It is especially interesting to note that a similar use was made of brick work in several of the monuments of this period: this tomb, the so-called Arch of Trajan, the aqueduct, and the temple of Giove Toro.[391] They all employ triangular-shaped bricks of similar size and the mortar used in all of these is of similar composition. This serves to underline the force of this building impulse that may have been concommitant with the new colonial organization.

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[388]L'Arab 1987.

[389]Tempesta 1975.

[390]*ERC* 225. Chelotti (*ad loc.*) cautions that the MVM in the inscription could also be interpreted as *m(arito) v(ene) m(erente)*. That the L. Mummius Niger Q. Valerius Vegetus Severinus Caucidius Tertullus, encountered in *CIL* IX, 948, was just possibly related to Annia Regilla has been discussed above.

[391]L'Arab 1987, p. 21.

CONCLUSION

Canusium underwent many changes during the half-millenium considered in this thesis. From an important Daunian centre in the fourth century B.C. to an important Roman city in the second century A.D., the Canusines, or at least the wealthy among them, were able to direct their resources to develop new industries as markets and politico-military circumstances changed. If as late as the early second century B.C., they were still exporting grain, they would seem to have been producing wine for export by the middle of the century. As this became less profitable, they increased their herds and built up a wool-processing operation that increased both the prosperity and the fame of the city. At no time during this period do we find unequivocal evidence of economic hardship for the city as a whole: this is true even in the wake of the Samnite, Hannibalic, and Social Wars; and even in the circumstances of its constitutional transformations from truly independent city-state, to not-so-independent ally of Rome, to Roman *municipium*, and to Roman colony.

Evidence of the continued prosperity of Canusium after the Samnite Wars and the assumption of allied status is seen most importantly in the building of the grand Italic temple, but also in the continuation of the occasional minting of local coinage even into the third century B.C., and in the rich funerary customs that continued into the second century B.C.

These customs also show that the idea of an impoverishment of the area after the Hannibalic War has been overstated. The building projects of the first century B.C., including that of the Roman roads, attest to the soundness of the local economy and to the importance of the city in the eyes of the Roman government in the years after the assumption of municipal status. The fact that individuals of more than one Canusine family had achieved senatorial connections by the early Empire further attests to the wealth of the local aristocracy. Finally, in the period of the bestowal of colonial status upon the city there was also a spate of new buildings, even a new or renewed public centre and probable *capitolium*.

Just as the local economy, while fueled by different industries over this half-millenium, remained robust, so the social structure, in spite of the occasional redefinition of governmental institutions and city status, shows signs of continuity. Evidence of this is found in the existence of Messapic names (albeit in romanized form) in the epigraphic remains of (mostly) the Imperial period, and, among these, names whose roots are shared by wealthy individuals who lived in the earlier Republican period. As a Daunian centre, Canusium would seem to have been ruled by a fairly narrow, but wealthy and locally powerful aristocracy. When the city became officially a part of the Roman state, there was a local council on which were represented the families who had political power and, as a legal precondition, wealth. The *album decurionum* of the colonial period shows that while this aristocracy had probably widened over the Roman period (but then the population of the city had probably also grown

considerably), it was still clearly defined and within it some individuals and families had greater status that others.

In the end, the picture emerges of a prosperous and stratified society that remained so through a half-millenium of change in principal industries and in governmental institutions. In this sense, the social and economic history of Canusium provides an excellent antidote to the more traditional, but pessimistic, accounts of the fate of the southern Italian cities in the Roman period.

APPENDIX

THE *ALBUM DECURIONUM* OF A.D. 223

The Structure of the *Album*

The arrangement of names and ranks. The *album decurionum* of Canusium,[392] which dates to A.D. 223, is the only complete municipal album that has survived from antiquity.[393] On it are listed 164 names representing 160 individuals that are ordered by rank, and within each rank, by seniority, a plan that seems to reflect the directives of the Severan-period jurist Ulpian (*Dig.* 50.3.1 *Ulpianus* 3 *de off. proc.*). Of the 164 names, 100 refer to decurions proper, 39 to patrons of the colony, and 25 to praetextati. While there is no clear evidence that there was an Imperially mandated size of a municipal ordo in either western or eastern towns,[394] 100 must have been the standard number of men on the council at Canusium who had the right to speak (*ius dicendae sententiae*), vote (*suffragium*) and enjoy the other honours and immunities of their class (*commoda decurionum*). Four of the equestrian patrons are listed a second time among the decurions proper, and this would indicate that the 100

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[392] *ERC* 35 = *CIL* IX.338. Please refer to the text of this inscription, which can be found at the end of this Appendix.

[393] A more fragmentary album from Thamugadi, Numidia (*CIL* VIII.2403; 17824) has also been recovered; it dates to the fourth century A.D.

[394] Nicols 1988a, pp. 718-719.

decurions form a discreet group apart from the patrons, who are honoured separately and more highly in being placed ahead of the decurions on the album.[395]

The decurions proper fall into a number of ranks: *quinquennalicii*, *allecti inter quinquennalicios*, *duoviralicii*, *aedilicii*, *quaestoricii*, and *pedani*. Since there was a *certus ordo magistratuum* for colonies (*Dig.* 50.4.14.5 *Callistratus* 1 *de Cogn.*; *Dig.* 50.4.11 *Modestinus* 11 *pand.*) that prescribed for an ambitious decurion a sequential progression through the ranks of quaestor (where this was a magistracy), *aedilis*, *duovir*, and *quinquennalis*, it is possible to see in the album a record of the magistrates who held power during as many as 29 years before A.D. 223, and perhaps for even 34 years if only two quaestors were chosen each year.[396] If, however, as many as twenty decurions died every five years,[397] the council would have renewed itself completely in as few as 25 years. However it may be, the album affords a fairly reliable record of the ruling elite of the city during the first quarter of the third century.

The Canusine *cursus honorum*. A look at the relative numbers of ex-magistrates in the several ranks noted in the album serves to give some clue as to the length of time that councillors remained at a rank before attaining the next higher magistracy. That there are nine *quaestoricii* listed in the album, and most likely only two quaestors per year were chosen,[398] would suggest that an average interval of about four years fell

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[395]Nicols 1988a, pp. 716-717.

[396]Silvestrini 1990c, p. 225.

[397]This was the estimate of Garnsey (1974, p. 248).

[398]Silvestrini 1990a, p. 596.

between the quaestorship and the aedileship, and a municipal career generally did not end at this rank.[399] Likewise, since there are 19 *aedilicii* listed in the *album*, it is probable that one waited about nine years before attaining to the duovirate.[400] Following a slightly different approach, by comparing this group to a population whose average life expectency at birth is about 32 years, it has been computed that if a man attained the quaestorship at 25 years (likely the most frequent case), he would on average have become aedile at about 30 years, and duovir at about 41 years.[401]

The Patrons of Canusium.

Of the patrons of the colony, whose names are given the position of honour at the head of the list, 31 are senatorial and 8 are equestrian. Apart from those listed in the Canusine album, of the 430 Italian municipal patrons known epigraphically, less than a third are senatorial and about half are equestrian,[402] so Canusium must have had an unusual balance between senatorial and equestrian patrons if the epigraphic sample at all reflects the proportion usual in Italian towns. At the head of the list of senatorial patrons is the most senior senator in Rome at the time, who was also *praefectus urbi* in A.D. 223, Appius Claudius Julianus

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[399]Jacques 1984, pp. 467-468. There could be some exceptions to this, however, such as an early death, but this would have be unusual in peacetime for a man at the age of 25-29 years. Other possibilities could have included impoverishment and adlection to the Roman Senate, the latter surely more rare than the former.

[400]Jacques 1984, pp. 468-469.

[401]Duncan-Jones 1990, pp. 93-95.

[402]Duthoy 1981, p. 304.

(*Dig.*31.87.3 *Paulus* 14 *resp.*). His name is followed by those of four *praefecti praetorio,*[403] whose office was accorded senatorial status during the reign of Severus Alexander (S.H.A. *Alex. Sev.* 21.3-5).

Since the praetorian praefects had some of the powers in Italy beyond the 100th milestone from Rome that governors would have had in the provinces, such as the ability to command troops, and since provincial communities frequently sought the governor as patron so as to secure his *benevolentia* when faced with some problem, it is possible that the Canusines had at this time some particular concern that required the attention of the Imperial authority since they secured all four of the praetorian praefects of A.D. 223 as patrons. This is especially striking inasmuch as there are no other examples of a praetorian praefect serving as patron to any community but his own *patria* before the middle of the third century A.D.[404] Since, as discussed above, sheep and the transhumance routes by which they were herded were important to the Canusine economy in this period, and since banditry was a continual problem in central and southern Italy,[405] the problem with which the Canusines may have been hoping for help may have been one of security for a vital industry.[406] More

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[403]Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 35, p. 50. T. Lorenius Celsus and M. Aedinius Iulianus were probably preatorian prefects from summer A.D. 223. L. Didius Marinus and L. Domitius Honoratus were likely praetorian prefects from the beginning of 223 until the summer. Even if only one of these pairs could have been carrying out the duties of the praetorian prefects at any one moment, the other pair would still have represented very prestigious patronage as especially influential *clarissimi*.

[404]Nicols 1988b, pp. 208-210.

[405]On this problem, see Shaw 1984 and Millar 1986, pp. 310-313.

[406]Nicols 1988b, pp. 211-212. Nicols argues that when (A.D. 206-209), Bulla Felix and a large band of men, many recruited from underpaid freedmen on the Imperial estates, caused much havoc in Italy,

simply, however, the city and praetorian prefects of A.D. 222-223 may instead have been sought as patrons by the Canusines as a gesture of loyalty to the new emperor and his government given that Severus Alexander had come to power only the year before, A.D. 222.[407]

The more practical duties of patronage would most likely have devolved upon the other senatorial patrons and the equestian patrons: those who had some prior interests in the area would have been most vigilant of their clients' welfare.[408] Most of the senatorial patrons apart from the prefects would seem to have had associations with the towns in the area around Canusium, especially in the area to the west of its territory.[409] For example, M. Statius Longinus may have had ties to Luceria since brick stamps of an M. Statius Patruinus have been found there;[410] C. Betitius Pius was probably from Aeclanum, and the family would seem to

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and it was Papinian, the praetorian prefect, who tried them (Dio 77,10.7), this was because the uprising occurred beyond the 100th milestone. He also points out that the Saepinum inscription (*CIL* IX.2438), which alludes to disturbances that affected the transhumant herding, also shows that the praetorian prefect had the responsibility to address the problem. Further, he contends that not only the presence of the names of the praetorian praefects, but also that of the urban praefect could be referred to this sort of problem: if, as Varro says (*Rust.* 2.2.9; *cf.* 3.17.9), sheep were herded between the *montes Reatini* and northern Apulia (where Canusium was the main centre), the urban praefect would have had the jurisdiction in the hills, which were within 100 miles from Rome (Nicols 1988b, p. 213).

[407]Pflaum 1948, pp. 36-49; Silvestrini 1990a, p. 598.

[408] An example of this may be an inscription from Canusium (*ERC* 27) honouring an equestrian patron of local origin, M. Antonius Vitellianus, for having restored *quies* to the region in his capacity of *praepositus tractus Apuliae Calabriae Lucaniae Bruttiorum*. This inscription dates to the third century. On this, see also Nicols 1988b, pp. 215-216.

[409]Silvestrini 1990a, p. 601.

[410]*CIL* IX.6078, 154.

have owned property at Venusia as well; C. Junius Numidianus likely had a Venusian origin; L.Lucilius Priscilianus perhaps was from Ausculum; the Bruttii brothers had land in the territory of Venusia.[411] Among the equestrian patrons, T. Munatius Felix was probably from Beneventum,[412] and almost all of the other equestrian patrons were of local origin.[413]

The *Pedani*: Social Status and Political Success

The role of the *pedani*. With the possible exception of the *allecti inter quinquennalicios*, the *pedani* were the only men out of the 100 decurions proper who had not held any local magistracy. They were appointed to the *ordo* by the *duoviri quinquennales* to occupy the places in the ordo still available after the former magistrates of the last five years had been assigned their places in the *ordo*. Both by their position in the *album* at the end of the list of decurions proper and by analogy to the *pedari senatores* in the Roman Senate,[414] they would seem to have held a rank inferior to that of the decurions who had been magistrates. The nomination of pedani was necessary because the customary *ordo* membership

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[411]Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 35, p. 51.

[412]Silvestrini *ad loc.*, *ERC* 35, p. 52.

[413]Silvestrini ad loc., ERC 35, pp. 52-53; Silvestrini 1990a, p. 601.

[414] In other ancient sources, the term for these men is usually spelled *pedanei*, but these men were more properly called *pedarii* according to Aulus Gellius (*NA* 3.18.10). Aulus Gellius (*NA* 3.18.3-9) also reports that it was thought by Gavius Bassus that the *pedarii senatores* were called so because they arrived at meetings of the Senate on foot whereas the senators who had exercised a curule magistracy arrived by chariot. Whatever the origin of the term, these senators would seem to have had little say in the Senate, as is indicated by a line from a play that he quotes: "*caput sine lingua pedari sententia est.*"

of 100 could not have been maintained simply by the cooptation of ex-magistrates because the death rate among the old decurions would have been higher than the rate at which new ex-magistrates could have become available. In fact, it has been calculated that at prevailing mortality rates, three or four new ex-magistrates would have been required each year, but only two new (junior) magistrates would seem to have been elected at Canusium in any one year.[415]

The "seniority" model of political advancement. It has been argued[416] that, to fill the vacancies, as many pedani were nominated as necessary, and that, in fact, it was from the *pedani* that new magistrates were generally chosen. This is because there is a directive among the *Sententiae* of Paul (*Dig.*50.2.7.2) that dates to this period to the effect that only those who are already decurions are permitted to discharge the duovirate or other magistracies. Since, so the argument goes, the numerous recurring *nomina* in the album suggest a hereditary principle in the choosing of new decurions, the younger relatives of the incumbent decurions, who made up the group of *praetextati*, must have been admitted to the *ordo* proper as *pedani* before they could have been elected to a magistracy.

According to this "seniority" model of the Canusine *cursus honorum*, then, one should not expect to find evidence of a difference of social class among the *pedani*, the other decurions, and the *praetextati*. Indeed, it might seem reasonable to suppose that a Greek *cognomen* in a Roman name in Italy was frequently an indication of foreign and/or servile descent,

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[415]Jongman 1988, p. 320.

[416]Garnsey 1974, pp. 242-249.

and one should not find them in the names of the *prima facie* most politically successful decurions, the ex-magistrates. Greek *cognomina*, however, can be found in some abundance at all ranks in the *Album Canusinum*, an indication that there was not clear difference in social status between the *pedani* and the others on council. Thus, it is contended, a seniority system with a normal career of *praetextatus*, *pedanus*, magistrate, ex-magistrate, with the last two categories repeating rank by rank, would seem to accord with the Canusine evidence.[417]

Problems with the "seniority" model. Unfortunately, there are problems with this model that become evident in the light of some actuarial projections and some more precise tabulations of names in the various categories. It has been calculated that if indeed all the *pedani* normally, according to seniority, became magistrates, and *praetextati* were enrolled in the *ordo* as *pedani* to take the places of the decurions who died, then assuming an average life expectency at birth of 29.3 years, and assuming that the *praetextati* were enrolled as *pedani* at between 25 and 30 years old, then even the most junior magistrates would have been about 55 years old (with a 14 year average life expectancy) by the time they were elected, and a much larger proportion of the *ordo* (72/100) would normally have consisted of *pedani* than is evident in the *Album Canusinum* (32/100).[418]

In order to avoid this problem, then, as a refinement of the "seniority" model described above, it has been proposed that frequent recourse may have been made to the adlection of men to the various ranks

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[417]Garnsey 1974, pp. 245-249.

[418]Jongman 1988, p. 324.

of former magistrates without their having fulfilled all the magistracies.[419] These men could have been chosen from among the *pedani* most closely related to the elite of the council. If, however, this occurred at Canusium, one must wonder why only those who had been adlected to the rank of the *quinquennales* are differentiated as such, but not those adlected to the lower ranks. As well, it is worth noting that in the album from Thamugadi, Numidia, the *allecti* to the various ranks are placed last among those with whom they share rank, but in the Canusine album, the present magistrates are listed in this position.[420]

A further observation that is problematic for the "seniority" model is that while Greek *cognomina* are indeed found at all levels in the *Album*, suggesting at least that there was no prejudice against those with these names strong enough to completely frustrate the political aspirations of someone well connected or well suited for high rank in other ways, the distribution of these names at the various ranks in the *Album Canusinum* is not uniform. Rather, they are more common in the lower ranks: 15 percent of the senior ex-magistrates (*quinquennalicii*, *allecti*, and *duoviralicii*) have Greek *cognomina*, but so do 29 percent of the junior ex-magistrates (*aedilicii* and *quaestoricii*), and 31 percent of the *pedani*.[421] Further, the proportion of Greek *cognomina* among the names of the *praetextati* (12 percent) is similar to that among the names of the senior ex-magistrates (15 percent). In addition, 25 percent of the decurions and *praetextati* who either shared a *nomen* with no other man among the 125 of them, a possible indication of *novitas*, or only with *pedani* had Greek *cognomina*,

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[419]Jacques 1984, pp. 483-486.

[420]Silvestrini 1990c, p. 226; Silvestrini 1990a, pp. 596-597.

[421]Jacques 1984, p. 525; Jongman 1988, pp. 326-328.

but only 20 percent of those sharing a *nomen* with both *pedani* and ex-magistrates, or with only ex-magistrates had the Greek names.[422] It would thus seem, in the end, that if a man had a Greek name, whether this signified servile descent, foreign ethnicity, or both, he was less likely to rise in the hierarchy of the *ordo*.

The static career of *Pedani*. As a second model of the political career at Canusium (and likely for other towns), it has been proposed that the *pedani* were indeed decurions of inferior status, as they seem to have been at Rome, who were not normally to compete for magistracies, but were to leave these to the *praetextati*.[423] According to this model, then, because the new ex-magistrates would have been still young (and so would have had a long life expectancy at this young age) by the time that they took their place in the *ordo*, there would be a much higher proportion of former magistrates among the decurions than there would be of *pedani*, a pattern that accords well with the numbers in the *Album Canusinum*.

Aside from their occasionally Greek *cognomina*, there are other indications that there was a difference in status between the *pedani* on the one hand, and the other decurions and the *praetextati* on the other, that show that the pedani were less likely that the other groups to advance in rank in the local council. One such difference between the

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[422]Of course, from a simple list of names, such an analysis must be crude, but an approximation to the real situation might be made by considering the sharing of a *nomen gentilicium* with someone else as an index of *parentela*.

[423]Jongman 1988, pp. 324-328. Jongman does not discuss the importance of the sententia of Paul mentioned above. It is difficult to know how promptly or how precisely such a directive of the Imperial court (even if we could be sure of its original legal context) was carried out away from Rome.

former magistrates and *praetextati* on the one hand, and the *pedani* on the other is the simple likelihood of being related to someone else in various ranks of the *ordo*. The first observation to be made is that of the 100 decurions proper, 33 are the sole representatives of their *gentes*, but the proportion of men at the various ranks in this situation does not appear significantly different: of the *quinquennalicii* and *allecti*, 36 percent; of the *duoviralicii*, 28 percent; of the *aedilicii*, 32 percent; of the *quaestoricii*, 33 percent; and of the *pedani*, 37.5 percent. It is, however, less likely that those in the senior ranks are *novi homines* since their older relatives would more likely have died than older relatives of the younger men in the lower ranks. Thus, it cannot be said that *novitas* in itself was a bar to advancement in local government, but given the fact that the *pedani* are most likely of any group to have lacked relatives on the council would indicate that *novi homines* tended to remain as *pedani* to a greater extent than the men who did have some relative on council.

It is also possible to make some observations about the patterns of *parentela* among the men who do who do share a *nomen* with someone else on council. These observations further suggest that the *pedani* tend to have fewer relatives among the other decurions than the other groups in the council. Of the 68 former magistrates, 47 are members of the same *gens* as another member of the *ordo* proper. Of these 47 men, 57.5 percent are related only to other former magistrates and not to *pedani*, and only 21 percent share a *nomen* with *pedani* only. Most strikingly perhaps, no *quinquennalicius* or *allectus* at all shares a *nomen* with a *pedanus*. Further, the higher a man's rank, the more likely he will be to have relatives among the other 99 decurions: of the *quinquennalicii* and

allecti, 64 percent have relatives;[424] of the *duoviralicii*, 76 percent; of the *aedilicii*, 68 percent; of the *quaestoricii*, 67 percent; and of the *pedani*, only 62.5 percent. Of the *praetextati*, however, 84 percent are related to someone on the council, which is appropriate if, as is generally supposed, they were selected from the young relatives of the sitting decurions.

Very interestingly, aside from the *quinquennalicii* and *allecti*, who are related to no *pedanus*, the higher a man's rank the more likely that he was related to a *pedanus*: of the *duoviralicii*, 52 percent are related to a pedanus; of the *aedilicii*, 26 percent; and of the *quaestoricii*, 11 percent. This would seem to imply that the higher a man's rank, the more influence he wielded in the selection of new decurions, and specifically, the more facility he showed in having his own relatives nominated to the *ordo* as, at least initially, *pedani*. The reason, however, that the *quinquennalicii* (and the *allecti*) do not seem to be related to any of the *pedani* (whereas over half of the *duoviralicii* are) may be that these men in the highest ranks, being successful politicians par excellence and having been in the *ordo* for the longest period, have been able to see that their protégés, whom they may have nominated to the *ordo* when they were *duoviri*, have by now been advanced beyond the rank of *pedanus*.

Of the *praetextati*, 44 percent shared a *nomen* with a *pedanus*, a fact apparently suggesting that once in the *ordo*, even a *pedanus* who was a *novus homo* was sometimes able to have his younger kin selected as *praetextati*. Only 8 percent of the *praetextati* are related only to a

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[424]This seems anomalously low, but it may be because of their old age: their older relatives who had helped them advance in their careers would be dead by the time these men reached top rank.

pedanus, however, and this may indicate that in fact it was still necessary that an aspiring youth be related to former magistrates, even if he were also related to a *pedanus*.

While, as noted, no *quinquennalicii* or *allecti* are related to any *pedanus*, 24 percent of the *duoviralicii* are related only to pedani. This may be because by the time a man has attained duoviral status, he had acquired the personal authority to have his own clients nominated to the *ordo*. Lower in the *ordo*, no *aedilicii* are related only to *pedani*, and of the *quaestoricii*, only 11 percent are, which represents, in fact, only one person, and thus is probably insignificant.

Representation in the Ordo and Family Status

The large number of families represented. In the *Album* it can be seen that certain families are better represented than others both in terms of the number of family members on the council and the ranks that those men hold. The set of names in the *Album*, however, is striking for the large number of families listed. The 100 decurions and the 25 *praetextati* are members of 60 *gentes*, that is, on average 2.1 persons per *gens* represented.[425] This wide distribution does not suggest a closed oligarchy and is similar to the distribution of associations at even a much lower social status, such as that of the *fabri tignuarii* (2.2 persons/*gens*) or the *lenuncularii* (3.6 persons/*gens*), both large *collegia* at Ostia at the end of the second century.[426] While 32 persons of the 125 are of *gentes* not shared by others on the council, 49 persons belong to

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[425]Jacques 1984, p. 509.

[426]Jacques 1984, p. 510, n. 9.

the 9 *gentes* having at least four members on the council.[427] That the 40 former magistrates *iure dicundo* are distributed in 30 gentes (1.3 persons/*gens*) is again an indication that access to the upper magistracies was not restricted to members of only a few families of the elite.[428] Some families may have been linked by marriage or adoption, to judge from the names, and two such groups stand out: the Abbuccii, Aurelii, and Julii group is represented by 16 members, and the Aelii, Antonii and Flavii group by 13 members.[429]

Family representation and rank. The simple number of representatives on council that a family has does not necessarily correlate with the authority that the family commanded.[430] On the one hand, the six Abbuccii include a quinquennal patron, an *allectus*, and two *duoviralicii*, besides a *quaestoricius* and a *praetextatus*. As well, the five Aelii are represented by two quinquennal patrons, an *allectus*, a *duoviralicius* and a *praetextatus*. These families were clearly very influential in this period. The Aurelii, on the other hand, although represented by six members, are not of high rank: one of them was the most junior *quaestoricius*, another is among the *pedani*, and there are four among the *praetextati*. One can infer that while this may be a family on the way up, in A.D. 223 it as yet had little authority in the *ordo*.

The 25 *praetextati* are divided into 19 different *gentes* (1.3 persons per *gens*, fewer than the decurions proper at 1.8), and there are even 4

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[427]Jacques 1984, pp. 510-511.

[428]Jacques 1984, pp. 511-512.

[429]Jacques 1984, pp. 513-514.

[430]Jacques 1984, pp. 515-516.

persons who share a *gens* with none of the decurions, all of which suggests, once again, that the council was not closed to a nucleus of dominant families, but that admission was open to a fairly broad group of families.[431] Both the city élite and lesser families are represented among the *praetextati*. For example, the noble Abuccii and Annii are represented among the *praetextati*, but so are the Pompeii, whose other representatives on council are only three *pedani*, and so are the Aurelii, whose four *praetextati* are accompanied only by a recent quaestor, and a *pedanus*. Clearly, since the *praetextati* seem to have been almost all related to decurions, there was a tendency to want to perpetuate one's status in one's children. The presence of members of lower-status families, however, indicates that new families were on the rise while some of the older families were weakening in their presence in the local government. For example, the Aelii, whose decurions were all high ranking, and whose only *praetextatus* was one with a Greek *cognomen*, might have been a family heading for extinction at Canusium, at least among the élite.

Single attestation of a family and *novitas*. Some of the men who are not related to anyone else on the council are unlikely to be, for all that, *novi homines*.[432] For example, a D[illegible]mius was *quinquennalis* in the municipal period,[433] and a Clodius was *quattuorvir*.[434] As well, L. Eggius Maximus, a *praetextatus*, could have been a descendant of a relative of the L. Eggius Marullus, *curator aquarum*, who may have been the senator from

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[431]Jacques 1984, pp. 614-615.

[432]On this see too Chelotti 1990b.

[433]*ERC* 41.

[434]*ERC* 39.

Aeclanum, or son of that senator, who was suffect consul in A.D. 111, and whose name is found on some *fistulae plumbeae* at Canusium.[435] In addition, some of the *gentes*, although not well represented in the *album*, are attested at Canusium in inscriptions from the first century A.D. (although the people mentioned in those inscriptions were not necessarily high in rank), such as the *gentes Antonia, Athania, Kanuleia, Libuscidia,* and *Lucretia.*[436]

The Imperial *gentes.* While we can suppose a *terminus post quem* for the existence at Canusium of the families bearing the Imperial names, it would be probably be wrong to consider them as more newly arrived at the city or to a place within the *ordo* than many of the families bearing non-Imperial names.[437] This is because such families as the Iulii and the Claudii could have existed at Canusium for two centuries by A.D. 223, and it may not have taken long for members of such families, even if of servile origin, to have gained political power if they were wealthy. Some of the Imperial *gentes*, however, do seem to be more newly arrived at political influence than others.[438] For example, while members of the older Imperial *gentes*, the Iulii, Claudii, and Flavii, are found in even the highest ranks of the decurions, and in good number, the *gentes Ulpia* and *Aurelia*, younger Imperial *gentes* at Canusium, are represented, aside from one *quaestoricius*, by only *pedani* and *praetextati*.[439] Anomolously, however,

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[435] *ERC* Instr. 161.

[436] Chelotti *ad loc.*, *ERC* 35, p. 62.

[437] Jacques 1984, p. 522, n. 39.

[438] Chelotti 1990b, pp. 603-606.

[439] Chelotti *ad loc.*, *ERC* 35, p. 62.

the *Aelia*, a "younger" Imperial *gens* than the *Ulpia*, are represented by two *quinquennalicii*, an *allectus*, a *duoviralicius*, and a *praetextatus*. The fact that so many members of Imperial *gentes* are listed in the *Album* (27 persons out of 125), testifies perhaps to the importance of Imperial estates in the area of Canusium: the estates were well statffed with capable men, and when these were manumitted, they often were already wealthy and able to see that their freeborn posterity had all the advantages of wealth.

The *Album Decurionum* of Canusium[440]

L. Mario Maximo II, L. Roscio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus);
M. Antonius Priscus, L. Annius Secundus, II vir(i) quinquenn(ales),
nomina decurionum in aere incidenda curaverunt.

Patroni cc(larissimi) vv(iri)

App(ius) Claudius Iulianus
T. Lorenius Celsus
M. Aedinius Iulianus
L. Didius Marinus
L. Domitius Honoratus
M. Antonius Balbus
M. Statius Longinus
L. Pontius Verus
C. Betitius Pius
C. Gavivius Maximus
C. Furius Octavianus
C. Bruttius Praesens
L. Bruttius Crispinus
C. Petronius Magnus
C. Iunius Numidianus
M. Papirius Candidus
L. Caecilius Maximus
Q. Caelius Flavianus
L. Lucilius Priscilianus
L. Pontius Bassus
L. Pontius Mauricus
M. Antonius Crispinus
Ti. Iulius Licinianus
C. Sulpicius Arrenianus
C. Licinius Licinianus
L. Valerius Turbo
L. Flavius Lucilianus
P. Marcius Maximilianus
M. Statius Patruinus
M. Statius Longinus iun(ior)
M. Valerius Turbo

Patroni eeqq(uites) RR(omani)

P. Gerellianus Modestus
T. Ligerius Postumius
T. Munatius Felix
T. Flavius Crocalianus
C. Galbius Soterianus
T. Aelius Rufus
T. Aelius Flavianus
Q. Coelius Sabinianus

Quinquennalicii

T. Ligerius Postuminus
T. Annaeus Rufus
L. Abuccius Proculus
T. Aelius Rufus
T. Aelius Flavianus
M. Antonius Priscus
L. Annius Secundus

Allecti inter quinq(uennalicios)

C. Galbius Soterianus*
L. Abuccius Iulianus
C. Silius Anthus
P. Aelius Victorinus

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[440]As edited by Silvestrini, *ad loc.*, *ERC* 35.

IIviralicii

A. Caesellius Proculus II
L. Faenius Merops II*
L. Abuccius Maximianus
Q. Iunius Alexander II
M. Aemilius Marcellus
C. Iulius Hospitalis
L. Marcius Fortunatianus
C. Fulvius Satyrus*
P. Libuscidius Victorinus
Q. Fabius Felicissimus
T. Aelius Antonius
L. Herennius Arecusianus*
T. Curtius Salvianus
A. Kanuleius Felicissimus
P. Sergius Bassaeus
P. Graecidius Firmus
M. Athanius Felicissimus
C. Vibius Octavianus
Ti. Claudius Onesimianus*
L. Annius Pius
Q. Iunius Onesiphorus*
C. Lucretius Venustus
A. Fabius Cassianus
L. Triccius Apollinaris
M. Apronius Primus
P. Esquilius Silvanus
Q. Iunius Rusticus
P. Clodius Dasimianus
L. Abuccius Felicianus

Aedilicii

T. Flavius Crocalianus
C. Ennius Macianus
Sex. Tedius Priscus
P. Graecidius Iustus
Ti. Claudius Candidus
M. Servilius Helius*
T. Artorius Minervalis
L. Herennius Crescens
T. Flavius Marinus
L. Clatius Secundinus
L. Abuccius Euryalus*
P. Marcius Carpophorus*
L. Dasimius Priscus
Q. Fabius Thalamus*
Ti. Claudius Euthychianus*
M. Sempronius Sabinianus
C. Ennius Priscianus
L. Faenius Merops iun(ior)*
M. Antonius Vindex

Quaestoricii

L. Ceius Asclepiodotianus*
L. Abuccius Laberianus
D. Balonius Felix
T. Flavius Iustus
T. Flavius Quintio
M. Saufeius Constans
M. Marcius Ianuarius
P. Sergius Augurinus
M. Aurilius (*sic*) Acrisius*

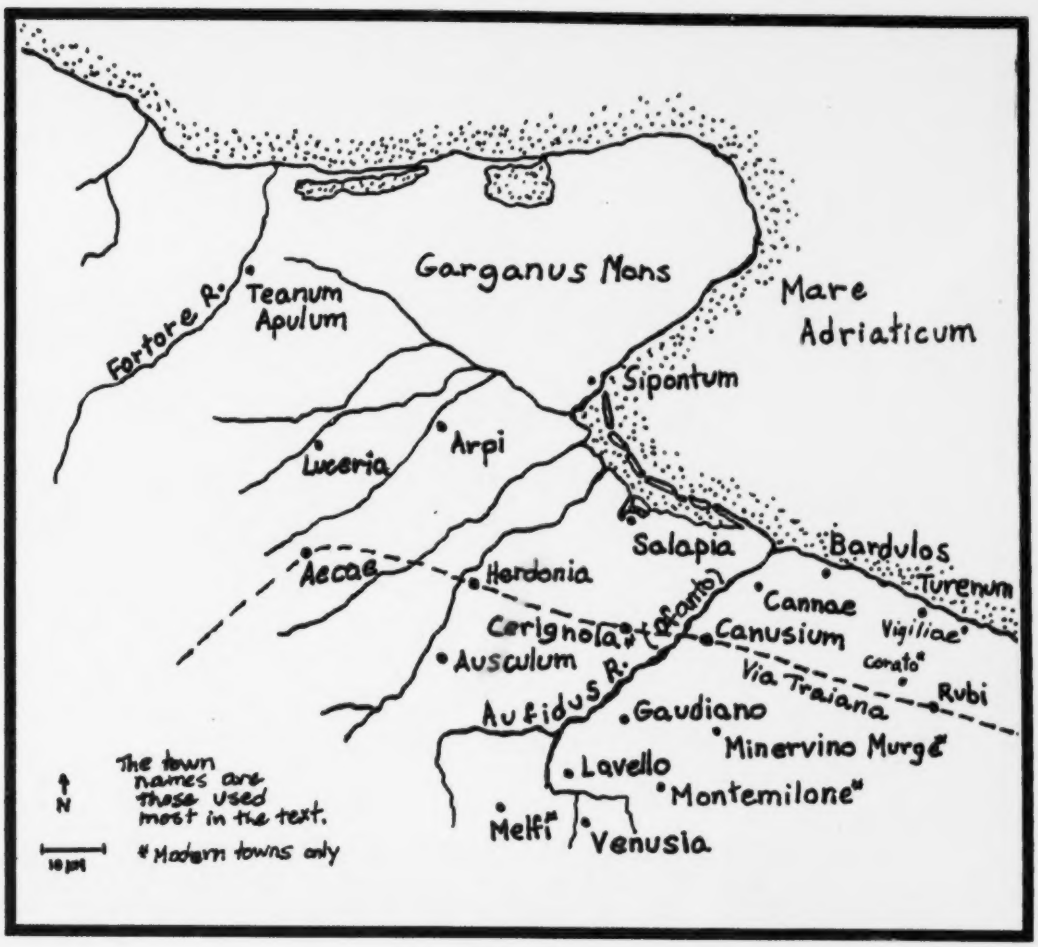
Pedani

Q. Fabius Fabianus
L. Vibius Iuventianus
P. Graecidius Vestinus
P. Carinatius Agathangelus*
C. Terentius Priscinus
C. Pomponius Cupitus*
C. Peticius Dionysius*
Sex. Calpurnius Aemilianus
L. Novius Alticus
C. Vibius Saturninus
P. Pacilius Chrysomallus*
T. Pomponius Felix
M. Aurelius Maximus
D. Agrius Pietas
Q. Iunius Silvanus
A. Kanuleius Onesimianus*
T. Pompeius Vitalis
C. Fufidius Rufus
T. Pompeius Alexander
C. Lucretius Venustus iun(ior)
C. Iulius Stachys*
M. Athanius Felix
L. Herennius Celsus
D. Satrenius Satrenianus
T. Pompeius Attalus*
P. Esquilius Silvanus
Ti. Claudius Onesimianus iun(ior)*
Q. Iunius Musogenes*
P. Rutilius Tertullinus
Ti. Claudius Verus
M. Ulpius Anthimus*
P. Publicius Maximus

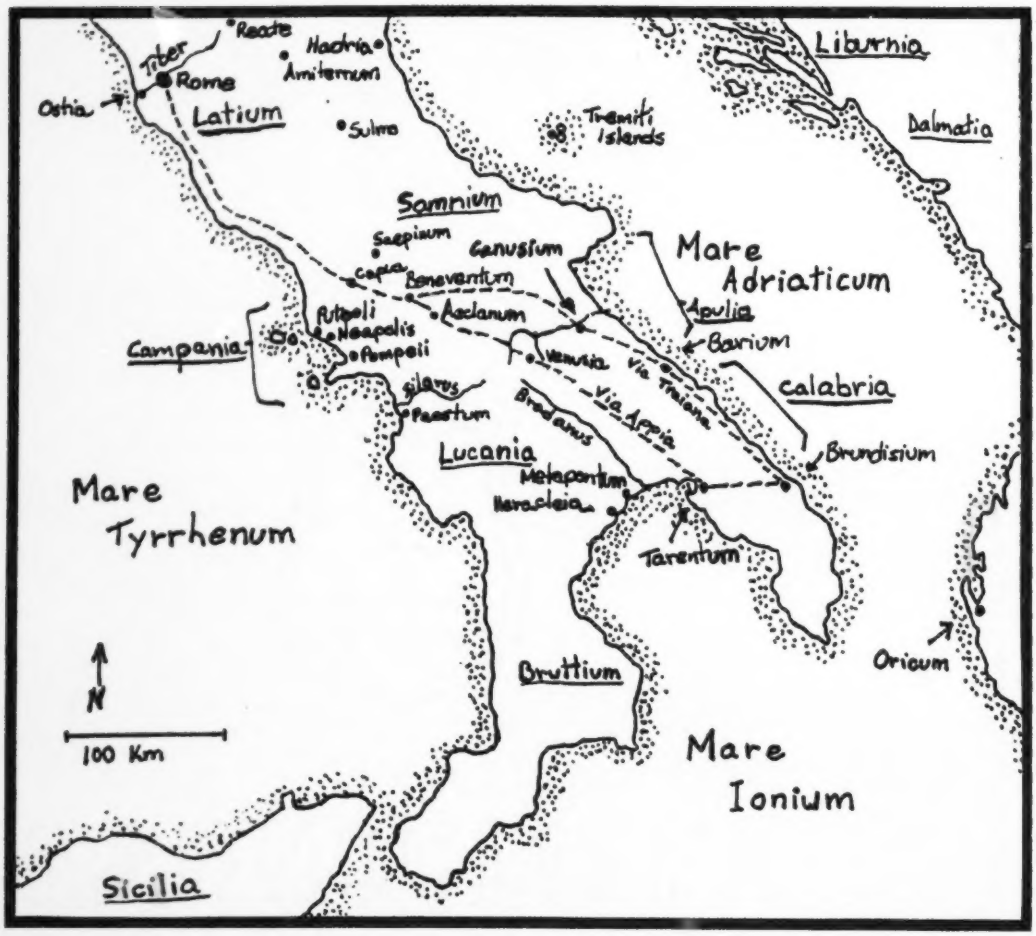
Praetextati

T. Flavius Frontinus
C. Iulius Hospitalis iun(ior)
L. Abuccius Proculus iun(ior)
M. Aurelius Marullus
T. Aelius Nectareus*
L. Eggius Maximus
C. Vibius Marcellus
P. Publicius Maximus iun(ior)
L. Annius Rufus
L. Triccius Apollinaris iun(ior)
M. Aurelius Iulius
M. Aurelius Agrippinus
L. Attius Ianuarius
C. Galbius Atticillianus
C. Vibius Faustinus
T. Pompeius Asclepius*
L. Timinius Ponticus
M. Aurelius Valens
C. Galbius Amandus
M. Servilius Marcellus
M. Gavius Rufus
L. Dasimius Iustus
Q. Iunius Trophimianus*
T. Flavius Silvanus
Ti. Claudius Fortunatus

*These names have been identified as Greek in origin by Jacques (1984).



MAP OF NORTHERN APULIA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD



MAP OF SOUTHERN ITALY IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT DATES

c.1800-c.900 B.C.	The Bronze Age in Apulia.
c.900-c.325 B.C.	The Iron Age in Apulia.
706 B.C.	The traditional foundation date of Tarentum.
334/333 B.C.	The campaigns of Alexander of Molossia.
328-302 B.C.	The Second Samnite War.
318/317 B.C.	The alliance of Canusium with Rome.
314 B.C.	The foundation of the Latin colony at Luceria.
291 B.C.	The foundation of the Latin colony at Venusia.
280-275 B.C.	The war with Pyrrhus.
244 B.C.	The foundation of the Latin colony at Brundisium.
218-201 B.C.	The Second Punic War.
216 B.C.	The Roman defeat at Cannae.
209 B.C.	The recapture of Tarentum by the Romans.
194 B.C.	The foundation of the Roman colony at Sipontum.
168 B.C.	The island of Delos declared a free port
133 B.C.	The land redistribution law of Tiberius Gracchus.
91-88 B.C.	The Social War.
c.87 B.C.	The designation of Canusium as a Roman *municipium*.
67 B.C.	The Mediterranean Sea is rid of pirates by Pompey.
50-45 B.C.	The Civil War between Caesar and the Pompeians.
31 B.C.-A.D. 14	The reign of Augustus.

A.D. 14-37	The reign of Tiberius.
A.D. 41-54	The reign of Claudius.
A.D. 69-79	The reign of Vespasian.
A.D. 98-117	The reign of Trajan.
A.D. 101-177	The life of Herodes Atticus.
A.D. 117-138	The reign of Hadrian.
A.D. 138-161	The reign of Antoninus Pius.
A.D. 161-180	The reign of Marcus Aurelius.
A.D. 161-175	The probable period in which Canusium became a Roman colony.
A.D. 193-211	The reign of Septimius Severus.
A.D. 222-235	The reign of Severus Alexander.
A.D. 223	The year in which the Album Canusinum was inscribed.
A.D. 284-305	The reign of Diocletian.
A.D. 306-337	The reign of Constantine.

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